INDIA
EARLY HISTORY



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Preface

Sir William Hunter's well-known book *The Indian Empire* was published in 1881. It was revised and published in four volumes in 1907-09 under the title *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*. These four volumes have now been revised and brought up-to-date. They are entitled *The Gazetteer of India: Indian Union*. The second volume — *History and Culture* was published in 1973.

Some of the chapters of this volume, namely, Government and Economic Life; Society, Religion and Literature; Arts and Architecture; Pre-Historic and Proto-Historic Periods; Early History of India upto AD 1206; and History of Medieval India (AD 1206-AD 1761) which have a wider public opinion, are being published separately in the form of booklets. The idea is to provide to the general public, especially the university students, low-priced publications containing authentic and objective information on these subjects by well-known writers who are experts in their respective fields.

Vincent A. Smith contributed the chapter on the Early History of Northern India from 600 BC to 50 to the *Imperial Gazetteer* of *India*. There are six contributors to the revised chapter entitled "Historical Period — Early History of India upto AD 1206" on which the booklet is based. There are R. C. Majumdar, A. D. Pusalkar, A. K. Majumdar, D. C. Ganguly, B. Ch. Chhabra and B. N. Puri. It is hoped that not only this booklet but the entire series will serve a useful purpose and meet the requirements of the general public.

New Delhi
February 28, 1979

P. N. Chopra
Editor (Gazetteers)

Contents

1

Aryan Immigration

SOME TIME IN the 2nd millennium B.C., a new race generally called Aryans or Indo-Aryans entered India. The word Aryan is borrowed from *Ārya* in Sanskrit or *Airyan* in Zend, which means 'of good family'. There are many theories about the origin of these people. The most accepted view is that they lived in the great steppe land which stretches from Poland to Central Asia.[1] They were semi-nomadic people. In the 2nd millennium B.C., they started moving from their original home and migrated westwards, southwards and eastwards. The branch which went to Europe were the ancestors of the Greeks, Romans, Celts and Teutons. Another branch went to Anatolia. The great empire of the Hittites grew up from the mixture of these people with the original inhabitants. One branch of Aryans remained in their original home. They were the ancestors of the Slavonic people. Those who moved southwards came into conflict with the West Asian civilizations. The Kassites, who conquered Babylon, belonged to this stock. In the excavations at Boghaz-koi in Asia Minor, which date about 1400 B.C., inscriptions are found containing the names of deities like Indra, Varuṇa and Nāsatya. These gods are also mentioned in the *Ṛg-Veda*. To the same period as the Boghaz-koi, belong the clay tablets with cuneiform script discovered at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt where references are found of princes of Mitanni in North-west Mesopotamia, bearing Indo-Aryan names.

In the course of their journey to the east or south a group of Aryans had settled in Īrān and developed a civilization of their own. Later, one branch of them crossed the Hindu Kush and entered India through Afghānistān. They occupied the Punjab

[1] Some Indian scholars believe that India was the original home of the Aryans, from where they migrated to different parts of Asia and Europe.

after defeating the original inhabitants and ultimately conquered the greater part of Northern India.

The Aryan invasion or rather immigration or penetration into India was not a single organized action but one extending over centuries. They came in wave after wave at short intervals, and hard struggle ensued with the indigenous people of the land. There are passages in the *Ṛg-Veda*, which indicate the severity of the struggle. The Aryans destroyed many cities of the enemies and though most of the conquered natives were ultimately reduced to slavery, they were assigned a place in society as a separate class. The exact course of Aryan expansion in India cannot be traced due to lack of archaeological evidence. It appears that after the fall of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro the urban civilization of these centres came to an end. The Aryan settlements consisted of small villages with dwellings of wood and reed, which perished long ago. The history of the period between the fall of Harappa and the settlement of the Aryans in India is very little known but recent archaeological excavations are of great help in forming a general view. The dates of Aryan movements, suggested above, should, however, be regarded as provisional.

2

Rg-Vedic Civilization

VEDA, THE SACRED book of the Aryans, is the only literary source from which we know about the Aryans in India. It is not a single individual work of a particular time. It had grown in course of centuries and was orally handed down from generation to generation. The *Ṛg-Veda Saṁhitā* is the earliest literary production of the Aryans, constituting the source for the earliest phase of the Vedic civilization[1].

Some scholars hold that the caste system, which has been a characteristic feature of Indian life, dates back to the age of the *Ṛg-Veda*. They argue that the word *varṇa* (colour) which later denoted caste, occurs in the *Ṛg-Veda*. Vedic Aryans inherited the triple or quadruple division of society as an heirloom from the Indo-European or at least the Indo-Īrānian period. The word *varṇa* is used in the *Ṛg-Veda* with reference only to Ārya and Dāsa having respectively fair and dark complexions, but never with reference to Brāhmaṇa or Rājanya (Kṣatriya), although these frequently occur in the *Ṛg-Veda*. Ārya and Dāsa differed not only in the colour of their skin but also in their worship and speech. The difference was racial and cultural. Brāhmaṇa, Rājanya and Vaiśya constituted the Ārya *varṇa* as opposed to the non-Aryans, the Dāsa *varṇa*.

Another argument advanced is that in the *Puruṣa-sūkta*, a part of the *Ṛg-Veda*, it is stated that Brāhmaṇa, Rājanya, Vaiśya and Śūdra sprang respectively from the mouth, arms, thighs and feet of the Cosmic Man (*Puruṣa*), and these names later signified the four castes. But the *Puruṣa-sūkta* is a later interpolation.

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[1] Rg-Vedic civilization flourished in what are now Afghanistan, the Punjab, parts of Sind and Rajasthan, North West Frontier Province, Kashmir and Eastern India up to the Sarayu (Ghaghara) ; Later Vedic civilization flourished in the whole of India to the north of the Narmada and some regions to the south of it.

Other hymns in the earlier stratum refer to Brāhmaṇa, Rājanya and Vaiśya, but there is nothing to show that the classes had become hereditary. They were merely functional.

Though the professions of priest and warrior occupied a position well above the common people (*viś*), they were neither exclusive nor hereditary. Priests went to the battlefield and Rājanyas performed sacrifices for others. There are instances of marriages of Brāhmaṇas with Rājañya women and of the union of Āryas and Dāsas. Further, there was no ban on taking food cooked by the Śūdras nor was there any trace of untouchability.

So in the *Ṛg-Veda*, there was a clear distinction between the Aryans and the aborigines, while there was no difference between the three classes among the Aryans with regard to heredity or exclusiveness.

Family, which was the foundation of the social and political organization, was of the patriarchal type, maṭriarchy being unknown. There is indisputable evidence of joint family which comprised parents, grand-parents, wife, brothers, sisters, sons, daughters, cousins, nephews, nieces, sister-in-law and sometimes also the mother-in-law. Common residence, food and worship forged strong bonds of kinship among the members.

The patriarch was the head of the family. He had, in theory, absolute power over the life of the children and full control of the family property which he could divide in any way he liked. In practice, these powers were exercised judiciously. On the father's death or physical incapacity, the management of the household devolved on the eldest son.

The Aryans in India had ceased to be nomads and had taken to settled life, so that families resided in fixed dwelling houses of a primitive type, made of wood and bamboo. There were also removable houses built of wood which could be taken in parts and refixed at different sites. Though bricks were used to build fire-altars, there is no evidence of their use in other structures. Houses contained several rooms, besides a sitting room and apartments for ladies. Several such houses, built near each other for purposes of mutual defence, constituted the village; there is no trace of city life.

Both vegetarian and non-vegetarian food were taken. Wheat and barley were probably the principal foodgrains, rice was introduced later. References are found to preparations such as sweet cakes and bread. There were also milk, butter, ghee and curd as also sugar-cane, fruits and vegetables. Fish, birds, goats and sheep, horses and cattle formed part of the non-vegetarian menu, the food being cooked in earthen pots or roasted on pits. Some Indian scholars, however, hold the view that the *Ṛg-Vedic* Aryans were vegetarians. Drinks included *soma*, the exhilarating juice of a hill plant, its use being restricted to religious ceremonies and *surā*, a mild intoxicating drink. In some verses of the *Ṛg-Veda*, the drinking of *surā* was not looked upon with favour. It was, however, condemned in later times.

The dress normally consisted of two or three garments—an undergarment, garment, and overgarment or mantle. Garments were usually made of wool or skin, and coloured yellow and red. Gold ornaments, such as necklaces, ear-rings, anklets and bracelets were worn by both men and women. Hair was combed and oiled. Women wore it in plaits, while men sometimes had it done in coils. Men put on turbans and grew beards, though shaving was not unknown.

Women would seem to have enjoyed equal status with men. *Upanayana* (initiation) was performed for girls also and they received education and observed *brahmacarya* like boys. Women studied the Vedas, and we hear of several women 'seers' composing Vedic hymns. They followed the profession of teaching upto the Sūtra period and even spinsters enjoyed the right to perform Vedic rituals.

There is no indication of seclusion of women which characterized Indian society of later days. Women moved freely and participated in public life.

Marriage was, as it is now, sacred and inviolable and not a secular contract, but a religious bond. Child marriage was unknown; girls had freedom of choice and there are instances of girls settling their own marriages. Monogamy was the general rule, though polygamy prevailed among the rich and the ruling classes. Polyandry and the custom of *Sati* were unknown. The

wife occupied an honoured place and participated with her husband in religious ceremonies.

Economic Condition

Though the Aryans had passed the nomadic stage before the Vedic age, great importance was attached to herds of cattle which were used for agricultural labour and drawing carts ; horses were employed for drawing chariots ; sheep, goat, ass and dog were domesticated animals ; the dog was used for hunting, guarding and tracking cattle and for night watch. It is not certain whether the Vedic people were familiar with the cat and the camel[1]. Among the wild animals, lion, elephant and boar were known but not the tiger.

Agriculture, the mainstay of economic stability, was considered respectable. There are references to several stages of agricultural operations such as ploughing, sowing in furrows, cutting of corn, making bundles of sheaves, threshing and winnowing. The plough was drawn by six, eight, or even twelve bulls. Canals were dug for irrigation.

Prayers for success in trade are common in the *Ṛg-Veda,* but Vedic Aryans were not expert traders. There were no good roads. Bullocks, pack-horses and perhaps camels provided the means of transport. There was both river and marine navigation. Although barter was practised, money and markets were known. Cows and gold ornaments (*Niṣka*) of fixed value were the media of exchange. There are no references to silver or copper coins.

Specialization in industry had already begun and several professions including those of carpenters, smiths, tanners, weavers, potters and grinders of corn are mentioned.

There are numerous references to the physician's skill, feats of divine healers of diseases and experts in surgery. In the cure of diseases, charms and spells enjoyed equal rank with healing herbs and drugs.

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[1] It is not definite whether *ustra* meant camel, as in later Sanskrit, or buffalo.

Political Organization

Family (*kula*) served as the basis of both social and political organization. Starting with family, the hierarchy in the ascending order was village (*grāma*), clan (*viś*), people or tribe (*jana*) and country (*rāṣṭra*), indicating the evolution of Vedic polity[1]. Several families knit together by bonds of kinship, and living under a common head, formed a clan. A number of clans constituted the people (*jana*). The country (*rāṣṭra*) embraced a number of tribes (*janas*), several of which are mentioned in the *Ṛg-Veda* and Later Vedic literature ; but their administrative organization varied.

In a patriarchal community, engaged in constant warfare against both Aryan and non-Aryan foes, kingship was the natural and normal form of government, though non-monarchical organizations are also suggested by *Gaṇapati* or *Jyeṣṭha* as the head of *gaṇas*. Some tribes had a sort of oligarchy, with several members of the royal family ruling jointly.

The State (*rāṣṭra*) was normally ruled by the king (*Rājan*). Kingship was normally hereditary and generally descended by primogeniture. Elective monarchy was perhaps not altogether unknown, but there is no clear reference to it in the *Ṛg-Veda*.

Nor does the *Ṛg-Veda* give much information about the king's ministers. The *Purohita* (domestic priest) was the foremost among officials. The sole associate of the king as his preceptor, friend, philosopher and guide ; he accompanied the king to the battlefield and gave him support by prayers and spells. There were also the *Senānī*, the leader of the army, and *Grāmaṇī*, the head of the village in civil as well as military matters.

The army comprised foot-soldiers and charioteers. Weapons were made of wood, stone, bone and metal. Bow and arrow was the usual weapon. Arrows were tipped with points of metal or poisoned horn. Lances, spears, daggers, axes, swords and slings were weapons of offence. Leather-guard, coat-of-mail and helmet were defensive weapons. References are made to the "moving fort" and a machine for assaulting strongholds.

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[1] The exact significance of the terms *grāma*, *viś* and *jana* and their inter relation is not quite clear ; sometimes these terms are used almost as synonyms.

Protection of the life and property of the people, maintenance of peace, and defence of the realm against external aggression appear to have been the main duties of the king. He was the military commander as well as religious head. He was also the upholder of the established order and moral rules (*dhṛtavrata*).

As checks on the king's arbitrary exercise of power, there functioned two popular assemblies, *Sabhā* and *Samiti*, which expressed the will of the people on important matters.

To administer justice and punish the guilty were among the principal duties of the king, the *Purohita* assisting him in the discharge of the former. From the time of the later Saṁhitās, the *Sabhā* too functioned as a court of justice. Theft, burglary, highway robbery, cattle-lifting and cheating are among the crimes recorded. There is no reference to ordeals. Loans and usury were well understood. The debtor was required to serve his creditor, and tying the criminal to a stake was the common punishment. It is debatable whether the system of *wergeld* (monetary compensation to the relatives of the person killed) was in force.

Full individual ownership of movables, cattle, horses, gold, weapons and slaves was recognized. Though land was owned by families and proprietorship vested in the father as the head of the family, it is a moot point whether sons had any share in the ownership. *Dāya* in the *Ṛg-Veda* means "reward", but in the later Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas it signifies inheritance. The son inherited his father's property, but the daughter, only when she was the sole issue. The right of adoption was recognized, though not favoured.

Religion and Philosophy

Essential elements of religion in the age of the *Ṛg-Veda* were: (1) a belief in numerous gods and goddesses who were nothing but personifications of whatever was noble, splendid or striking in nature; (2) a belief that they possessed powers of doing good as well as evil to the people, that they must be satisfied by offer of food and drink in order to get boons from them, and avert the evils they are capable of doing to men; (3) kindling a fire

and throwing choice articles of food and drink into it, uttering at the same time hymns of praise to the god to whom articles thrown into the fire were to be carried by the fire itself which was regarded as messenger for this purpose.

They were deeply impressed by the great phenomena of nature which they conceived as alive and usually represented in anthropomorphic form. They believed in a complex and varied host of gods who were 33 in number. According to much later tradition, they were classified under terrestrial, atmospheric, and celestial groups. Agni, Indra, and Varuṇa were the respective chief deities. The chief deities in early days grew out of personification of natural phenomena, such as the sky (*dyuḥ*), earth (*pṛthivī*), sky god (Varuṇa), god of thunderstorm (Indra), morning and evening stars (Aśvins), and goddess of dawn (Uṣas). With them came the domestic deities including the fire god (Agni) in his three forms (sun in heaven, lightning in atmosphere, and domestic fire on earth), and *soma* (drought of immortality, sometimes identified with the moon). Later on, abstract deities like Dhātṛ (Establisher), Vidhātṛ (Ordainer), Prajāpati (Lord of creatures), Śraddhā (Faith) and Manyu (Wrath) made their appearance. Sometimes gods were conceived as animals, but there is no trace of animal worship. The Vedic Aryans, thus, worshipped a host of gods ; but each in turn was worshipped as the highest god.

The religion consisted of worship of gods with simple ceremonials mentioned above which were known as *yajña* or sacrifice. The worship comprised primarily oblation and prayer. Sacrifice consisted of offerings of milk, ghee, grain, flesh and *soma*.

These developments gave rise to a profound philosophy which boldly questioned the multiplicity of gods, and maintained the ultimate unity of the universe as the creation of one God known by different names.

The *Ṛg-Veda* offers no consistent theory regarding life after death. The dead were either buried or cremated, and according to some passages, dwelt in the realm of Yama, the king of the dead.

3

Later Vedic Civilization

THE EXPRESSION "LATER Vedic Civilization" comprises the changes and developments that took place in the religious, social, economic and political conditions of the people during the period when the later Saṁhitās *Atharva, Yaju* and *Sāma* and the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras were composed.

Religion and Philosophy

There was a remarkable development in the domain of religion and philosophy. The simple ceremonial of worship gave place to elaborate sacrifices, a complicated procedure requiring the services of as many as seventeen priests. Some old deities like Varuṇa and Pṛthivī passed into insignificance while new ones like Rudra and Viṣṇu rose to eminence.

In the later Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas sacrifice dominates the scene. The doctrines of *Karma, Māyā*, transmigration, identity of individual soul with the Universal Soul, and *Mukti*, which are the foundations of the different systems elaborated by later writers and are accepted as the main tenets of Hinduism, find their first expression in the Upaniṣads.

Social Life

The necessity of a trained class of persons who could perform accurately the elaborate and complicated ceremonial of the *yajñas*, led to the growth of a distinct body of learned men who came to be known as Brāhmaṇas and gradually, with increase in number, formed a distinct class in society, highly respected on account of their association with religious duties. The expansion of the Aryans further to the east and south led to the emergence of a group of persons who had to devote their time wholly or

mainly to fighting with the original inhabitants and administering the territories conquered from them. Thus arose another class known as the Kṣatriyas who had the supremacy in temporal affairs as the Brāhmaṇas had in spiritual matters. It was inevitable that these two would come to be regarded as occupying a much higher position than the remaining Aryans who therefore formed a separate class known as the Vaiśyas (from *viś* or people). The non-Aryans formed the fourth class in society and came to be known as the Śūdras. These divisions were not very rigid at first, for one could change the occupation and thus secure admission into another class. But gradually the classes became hereditary and the Vaiśyas were subdivided into numerous occupational classes which also tended to be hereditary ; birth became the sole criterion of one's class and it became converted into caste. It is difficult to say when this caste system reached the final form as we find it in the later Hindu society.

In general it may be said that the power and prestige of the priestly caste (Brāhmaṇas) was on the increase though their claims to supremacy were successfully contested by the Kṣatriyas. In consequence, the two castes enjoyed special privileges denied to the Vaiśyas and Śūdras. Different modes of address were prescribed for the four castes. The rise of numerous arts and crafts as a result of cultural advance resulted in the creation of subcastes based on occupation. Several intermediate castes were also evolved.

Change of caste, though very unusual, was not as yet impossible. The higher castes could intermarry with the lower ones, but marriage with Śūdras was not approved. The idea of pollution by touch finds expression. Śūdras were denied the right to perform sacrifices. There were still no prohibitions against inter-dining and the caste system had not acquired the rigidity it did in the period of the Sūtras.

The earliest clear reference to the four *Āśramas* of the student, householder, forest hermit, and recluse, is found in the *Jābāla Upaniṣad*. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* clearly refers to the first three *Āśramas*. The stages of the student and the householder fall within the general social life while that of the recluse pre-supposes the existence of an organized ascetic life.

There was little change in other aspects of social life. While the previous style of dress continued, clothes were also made of silk and were dyed with saffron. The tendency against the eating of meat was gradually gaining ground under the influence of the theory of *Karma* and transmigration.

There was deterioration in the position of women. A daughter came to be regarded as "a source of misery". Women could not attend the *Sabhā* ; they were excluded from inheritance and, along with Śūdras, could not own property ; whatever was earned by women became the property of their husbands or sons.

The later Saṁhitās refer to the *Upanayana,* and its description in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* shows that it possessed all essential features of the sacrament elaborately treated in the Gṛhya-Sūtras. The list of subjects for study shows a wide range of knowledge embracing not only Vedas, Itihāsa, Purāṇas and grammar, but also astronomy, military science, dialectics, and knowledge of portents. Development of character constituted the aim and moral training, the backbone of the educational system. The Upaniṣads testify to the high intellectual development brought about by the system. There were several competent Kṣatriya teachers as also women teachers.

Economic Condition

Progress in agriculture and pastoral pursuits was steady and continuous. The plough became large and heavy, having a sharp point and a smooth handle and sometimes required as many as 24 oxen to draw it. Manure was known. Different varieties of rice, barley, beans, sesame and wheat were grown. Fruit trees were cultivated. Two crops were harvested in a year. Among dangers to crops are mentioned drought, excessive rains and pests.

Industrial life witnessed remarkable development and a variety of new occupations—those of fishermen, hunters, fire-rangers, charioteers, washermen, dyers, door-keepers and footmen, among others—came into existence. Specialization had gone very far, distinction for instance was made between the chariot-maker and the carpenter, the tanner and the hide-dresser and the maker of bows and the maker of arrows. Women worked as dyers, embroi

derers and basket-makers. Some sort of drama seems to have come into existence, for we have reference to "actors".

There was advance in the knowledge of metals. In addition to gold and *ayas*, (variously translated as copper or iron) found in the *Ṛg-Veda*, there is mention of tin, lead, silver and iron.

References to corporations (*gaṇas*) and aldermen (*Śreṣṭhins*) indicate the organization of merchants into guilds. *Niṣka*, *Śatamāna*, and *Kṛṣṇala* were used as convenient units of value. *Niṣka* was probably a lump of gold of a definite weight, while *Kṛṣṇala* weighed one *ruttī*. It is, however, doubtful, if these represented coins.

Political Organization

Kingship became the normal form of government. There were also speculations about the origin of kingship. It is stated that having been continuously defeated by the demons, the gods elected Indra as king and were victorious in the end. Elsewhere, Indra is said to have been installed as a king by Prajāpati and other gods on account of his vigour, strength, valour and perfection. At another place Varuṇa is said to have gained the honours by proving his superiority over others in strength and leadership. It is thus clear that the stress of war gave rise to kingship. "Kingship originates in military necessity and derives its validity in consent", or it originated in election based on possession of the best qualities. That hereditary succession continued to be the normal mode, is indicated by expressions like "kingdom for ten generations".

The growth of king's power, arising out of the increase in the size of the states and the replacement of old nobility by official hierarchy, was further augmented by the widespread acceptance of the divinity of the king. The king claimed to be the absolute master of all subjects except the Brāhmaṇas. The commoners (Vaiśyas) could be oppressed at will and the Śūdras were liable to be expelled and slain at will. As suzerain, the king controlled the land of the tribe but was not its owner. The theory of the king being the visible emblem of Prajāpati was propounded to explain how "while being one he rules over many"

There arose a new type of nobility based on official duties rather than birth. With the growth of royal power came the administrative machinery. Later Saṁhitās refer to the *Ratnins* (members of the council of advisers), consisting partly of the king's relations, partly of his courtiers, and partly of heads of main departments of administration who assisted the king. There are references to the priest (*Purohita*), commander-in-chief (*Senānī*), charioteer (*Sūta*), treasurer (*Saṁgrahītṛ*), and tax-collector (*Bhāgadugha*), and others who were heads of departments. There were also the members of the royal court who included the crowned queen (*Mahiṣī*), chamberlain (*Kṣattṛ*), and the game companion (*Akṣāvāpa*). The village headman (*Grāmaṇī*) was in charge of the village. To the earlier list, the Brāhmaṇa texts add among others the governor or chief judge (*Sthapati*), the huntsman, the courier, the minister (*Saciva, Amātya*), etc.

That the new official nobility exercised great power and influence would appear from the designations "king-makers" and "chief supporters of the king" applied to most of them, as also from the fact that the king at coronation had to visit the houses of these officials.

Both monarchy and popular assemblies were looked upon as divine institutions, vested with political rights and privileges. The king always sought the good grace of the assemblies, and losing their favour or support spelt dire disaster for the king. It is, however, surprising to find that the *Samiti*, which gradually began to disappear from the time of the later Saṁhitās, completely faded out in the Later Vedic age. *Samiti* in the Upaniṣads denotes only a learned body, sometimes presided over by a king. *Sabhā*, instead of being a popular village assembly, continued as the king's court, or privy council, or a judicial assembly.

The literature of the period throws further light on judicial matters. The king took a very active part in the administration of criminal law. The killing of an embryo, homicide, the murder of a Brāhmana in particular, stealing of gold, and drinking *surā* (wine) were included among serious crimes. Treason was a capital offence, but practically nothing is known about the actual procedure. In civil law, as already stated, women were denied inheritance and the right to own property.

4

From Early Times to the 6th Century B.C.

SUFFICIENT MATERIAL IS not available to paint even a broad and general picture of the political history of India before 6th century B.C. Vedic literature, which is our only source of information for the period, refers to states, both big and small, tribal as well as territorial, and gives the names of a number of kings who attained fame by their achievements. Detailed accounts of the kings and states and their struggle for supremacy leading to the establishment of big empires are given in the Purāṇas which were written at a much later period, but had evidently access to old records and traditions of the Vedic period. But they suffer from two defects. They do not set the political events in chronological framework, and events happening at long intervals and distant places are lumped together. Though the Purāṇas name several dynasties and give long genealogical lists of ruling kings, there are obvious discrepancies between the lists given in different Purāṇas, and even in the different manuscripts of the same Purāṇa. Several modern scholars, notably Pargiter, have made serious attempts to draw up an intelligible scheme of historical narrative on the basis of the Purāṇic accounts, but the very serious differences in their reconstruction of history indicate that little reliance can be placed on the results of such labour.

While, therefore, it is not possible to write the political history of India during the Vedic and Later Vedic age, mention may be made of some interesting but isolated historical facts. From the *Ṛg-Veda*, we know the names of a number of powerful tribes which established important principalities during the Vedic age. Among these may be mentioned the Bharatas, Matsyas, Krivis, Tṛtsus, and the well-known group of five tribes—the Turvasas,

Yadus, Pūrus, Druhyus and Anus. There are allusions to a confederacy of tribes. A famous incident mentioned in the *Ṛg-Veda* and the *Atharva Veda* is the battle between king Sudās and a confederacy of ten kings. Imperialism was the dominating factor in Indian politics before the end of the Vedic age, and it was symbolized by the time-honoured *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* mentions no less than twelve kings who "went everywhere, conquering the earth, upto its ends, and sacrificed the sacrificial horse". Three of them, as well as several other kings, are stated in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* to have performed *Aśvamedha* sacrifices

As the Aryans pushed forward from the Punjab towards the east and south, we find the names of new tribes or people, many of whom were probably formed by the amalgamation or reorganization of the older tribes. Among these may be mentioned the Aikṣvākus of Ayodhyā, Haihayas of Central India, and Kurus and Pañcālas, who lived side by side in Eastern Punjab and Western Uttar Pradesh. Special importance attaches to the Kurus whose history forms the central theme of the great epic, the *Mahābhārata*. According to this epic there was a Great War between the Kurus and their kinsmen the Pāṇḍavas, in which all the important kings in India took sides, and after eighteen days, fighting at Kurukṣetra and the slaughter of almost all the kings and princes who took part in it, the Pāṇḍavas emerged as the victors and their leader became the undisputed master ruling from his capital at Hastināpura.

Although the *Mahābhārata*, as we find it today, was composed at a much later period there seems to be some truth in the story of this Great War, known as the Bhārata War throughout the ages. It was looked upon as a great landmark in the history of ancient India which saw the end of one cycle and ushered in another. Modern scholars, while generally agreeing about the historical character of the War, assign different dates to it and the most reasonable assumption is to place it at about 1,000 B.C.

According to the Purāṇas, the Great War of Kurukṣetra left the Pāṇḍavas the supreme political power in India. The Pāṇḍava heroes who fought the War retired shortly after it was over, leaving the throne to Parīkṣit, grandson of the third of the

Paṇḍava brothers, Arjuna. The Purāṇas reckon Parīkṣit as the founder of a new dynasty, the Paurava, and give the list of thirty kings belonging to it. Parīkṣit and his son and successor Janamejaya loom large in the *Mahābhārata*, and the latter is mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* as one of the twelve universal sovereigns. But the glory of the Pauravas did not last long. During the reign of the fourth king after Janamejaya the capital was washed away by the Gaṅgā and the Pauravas shifted their capital to Kauśāmbī—its ruins lie near the village of Kosam about 48 km. from Allahābād. Other calamities befell the Pauravas and their power and prestige declined to a considerable extent. But they continued to rule for a time side by side with some other old dynasties. Among these may be mentioned the Aikṣvākus of Kosala with Ayodhyā as their capital, the Bārhadrathas of Magadha ruling at Girivraja or Rājagṛha (modern Rājgīr in Patna district), and several other less powerful families ruling in Pañcāla, Kāśī (Vārāṅasi) and other localities. The great Bhārata War, according to the *Mahābhārata*, was fought with a view to bringing the whole of India under one political authority, and this was successfully accomplished by the decisive victory of the Pāṇḍavas. But this political unity did not last long. During the centuries that followed, India again presented the spectacle of a congeries of states fighting with one another for supremacy. It seems to have been the normal political condition, with the occasional rise of a great king who successfully founded an empire which his successors lost again in a short time

Foundation of the Magadha Empire

FOR THE FIRST time, the Buddhist scriptures give us a definite picture of the political condition of India at a given period —the years when Gautama Buddha lived. This may be roughly taken as the 6th century B.C. It appears that there was no paramount ruler and North India was divided into a number of states, both big and small. Sixteen of these are referred to as *Mahājanapadas* in Buddhist literature. Some of these were ruled by hereditary monarchs but others were republican or oligarchical states, ruled either by the representatives of the people as a whole or by the nobility. Four of the kingdoms which played an important role were Magadha or South Bihār under the Haryaṅka dynasty ; Kosala or Avadh, ruled by the Aikṣvākus of old ; Vatsa under the famous Pauravas ; and Avantī or Mālwa under the Pradyota dynasty with its capital at Ujjayinī. Among the less important kingdoms were those of Kāśī, Matsya (Jaipur), and Kuru Pañcāla (Western Uttar Pradesh), which are also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata.*

Of the non-monarchical clans the most important was the Vṛji confederacy of eight clans, the most powerful of which were the Licchavīs ruling from their capital at Vaiśālī (Basārh in Muzaffarpur district in Bihār). Among others may be mentioned the Śākyas of Kapilavastu (in Nepāl *tarai*), and two clans called the Mallas with their respective capitals at Pāvā and Kuśīnagara. The latter has been identified with Kasia, 56 km. to the east of Gorakhpur. There were two cities called Pāvā, one near Kuṣīnagara, and the other was the famous place of pilgrimage near Rājgīr in Bihār. These clans had no hereditary ruler : administration was in charge of an assembly helped by an executive council and a chief elected by it from time to time.

There were matrimonial relations between the rulers of the four kingdoms. But that did not prevent them from fighting with

one another for supremacy. Pradyota, king of Avantī, for example, fought with his son-in-law, Udayana, king of Kauśāmbī. But they had to retire from the contest, leaving the field to the kings of Kosala and Magadha. Prasenajit, the Kosala king, conquered Kāśī, and his son afterwards destroyed the Śākya state of Kapilavastu. Bimbisāra, king of Magadha, conquered Aṅga (Bhāgalpur) and his son Ajātaśatru defeated the Licchavīs. But though Bimbisāra had married the sister of Prasenajit, Ajātaśatru, his son by another queen, had a long-drawn struggle with Kosala from which Magadha emerged as the strongest power and, under an able line of rulers, soon developed into a mighty empire. The kings mentioned above were contemporaries of Gautama Buddha, who died in the eighth year of the reign of Ajātaśatru.

While Magadha was seeking to establish political hegemony in North India, the border regions on the west—the Punjab, Sind and Afghānistān—were divided into a large number of states. Two of these, Kamboja and Gandhāra (a part of Kashmīr and former North West Frontier Province) alone, are included in the sixteen *Mahājanapadas* mentioned in the Buddhist scriptures. During the lifetime of Gautama Buddha, the powerful Achaemenian emperor of Persia, Darius (522-486 B.C.), conquered a portion of the Punjab and Sind. The extent of the Persian dominion in India cannot be exactly determined ; it formed the twentieth Satrapy of the empire of Darius, and contributed an annual revenue in gold dust amounting to more than a million pounds sterling.

But unaware or unconscious of the danger of this foreign invasion in the distant front on the west, Mahāpadma Nanda, who had founded a new ruling dynasty in Magadha, defeated and destroyed the remnants of the old kingdoms and on their ruins built up an empire which included the whole of North India except Kashmīr, the Punjab and Sind, as well as Kalinga and probably some other parts of the Deccan. Thus was founded the first great historical empire in North India. Mahāpadma Nanda, a Śūdra, completed the task begun by the Kṣatriya rulers Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru.

Invasion of Alexander

Shortly after the death of Mahāpadma Nanda, India was invaded by the famous conqueror of the ancient world, Alexander the Great of Macedonia, in May, 326 B.C. He was welcomed by the Indian king of Takṣaśilā (Taxila, 32 km. north-west of Rāwalpindi now in Pākistān), and this ignoble example was followed by a few other Indian chiefs, but most of the Indian kings and non-monarchical clans offered a stiff resistance. To the east of the Sindhu, the ruler of a small state between the Jhelum and Chenāb rivers, whom the Greeks called Porus (probably the Greek form of Paurava), put a resistance the like of which Alexander had not faced in the entire expedition. Porus was defeated and captured with nine wounds on his body, but received honourable treatment from his great adversary. Alexander's triumphant progress was halted on the bank of the river Beās beyond which lay the empire of the Nandas. The ostensible reason of Alexander's retreat from this point was the unwillingness of the Greek soldiers to proceed further, but it is not unlikely that the great risk in fighting a big organized hostile force, with an army exhausted and depleted by long marches and battles weighed with Alexander in coming to this decision. On his return journey he had to fight powerful tribes like the Malloi (Mālavas) and the Oxydrakai (Kṣudrakas). Alexander left India in 325 B.C. and died at Babylon two years later.

Before leaving India, Alexander had made arrangements for the administration of the Indian territories conquered by him. He posted several Greek Satraps at different centres and appointed Porus as ruler of the entire territory between the Jhelum and the Chenāb. The kings of Taxila and Abhisāra, who had submitted to Alexander without a struggle, were made rulers respectively of the territories to the west and north of the dominion of Porus. But these arrangements broke down partially even during Alexander's lifetime and completely after his death. At the time of the second partition of Alexander's empire by his generals in 321 B.C. the Indian provinces to the east of the Sindhu regained independence and no trace of Greek rule in India was left, though some Greek garrisons maintained themselves in isolated localities

for a few years more. Alexander's invasion opened up communication between India and the Western countries and this had important consequences; but otherwise there was nothing to distinguish it from the successive foreign invasions of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, Tīmūr or Nādir Shāh of later times. For, according to the testimony of the Greek writers themselves, Alexander carried on devastation and massacre on a large scale. He slaughtered the inhabitants of captured cities, sparing neither women nor children. During his campaign of the lower Sindhu valley alone, 80,000 Indians were killed and a large number sold as slaves.

6

The Maurya Empire

THE EXACT CIRCUMSTANCES which led to the breakdown of Macedonian rule in India are unknown. The Greek writer Justin gives the credit of liberating India to Sandrocottus, the Greek form of Candragupta, the founder of the Mauryan dynasty according to Indian tradition. According to another Greek writer, Plutarch, Candragupta met Alexander, but this is doubtful. It usually happens that myths and legends gather around the names of great persons, and Candragupta has been no exception. It is not, therefore, easy to give an account of the early career of this hero. Indian tradition represents him as the son of the king of Magadha of the Nanda dynasty by a woman of the Śūdra caste named Murā, and hence his family name was Maurya. But a more probable version is that he belonged to the Kṣatriya clan called Moriya—a well-known non-monarchical clan of the time of Gautama Buddha. We need not believe in the long account of his early life spent in poverty and his gradual rise to greatness. But there is probably some truth in the unanimous tradition that he derived considerable help from the counsel of a Brāhmaṇa named Kauṭilya, known also as Viṣṇugupta or Cāṇakya. His two great achievements were the expulsion of the Greek Satraps from the soil of India and the conquest of the Magadhan empire by defeating the last ruler of the Nanda dynasty, probably a son of Mahāpadma Nanda. But it is uncertain which of these two preceded the other. He ascended the throne of Magadha about 322 B.C. and consolidated his political authority over the vast region stretching from the river Sindhu to the mouth of the Gaṅgā. This must have been the result of a number of successful military expeditions, but we have no detailed account of them. Nor can we definitely say whether his empire included any part of the Deccan and South India. Some ancient Tamil texts refer to the invasion of the Tamil country by the Moriars from the North.

These Moriars may refer to the Mauryas and the epithet Vamba' (newly risen) applied to Moriar may indicate Candragupta ; but none of these conclusions can be regarded as certain.

While Candragupta was busy extending his empire, the Hellenic world in the west was passing through a crisis caused by the struggle between the generals of Alexander for the possession of the great empire left by him. Ultimately, the generals made themselves masters of different parts of the vast empire, and the eastern territories fell to the share of Seleucus. Having settled his affairs with the rival generals, Seleucus proceeded to reconquer the lost Greek dominions in India. He reached the banks of the Sindhu about 305 B.C., but far from recovering any territory in India, he ceded to Candragupta the three rich provinces of Paropanisadai, Arachosia, and Aria and also Gedrosia, or at least a part of it corresponding to the regions round Kābul, Kandahār and Herāt. The only gain of Seleucus was the present of 500 elephants from Candragupta. It is, of course, absurd to regard this as a fair price of the ceded provinces, as some Greek writers have suggested. The inexplicable silence of the Greek writers about the details of the expedition and the cession of territories by Seleucus lead to the conclusion that he fared the worst.

There is also a tradition that Candragupta married the daughter of Seleucus, but of this we have no positive evidence. It is, however, certain that there was an alliance between the two monarchs and Seleucus sent an ambassador named Megasthenes to the court of Candragupta. Megasthenes wrote an account of India and this would have been a very valuable source of information about contemporary India, but for the fact that the text of this book has reached us in fragments i.e., a few passages quoted from it by later writers.

Megasthenes gives an interesting description of the capital city Pāṭalīputra (modern Patna). According to him Pāṭalīputra was the greatest city in India, being about 14 km. in length and 2 km. in breadth. It was surrounded by a wooden wall which had 64 gates and 570 towers. The wall was protected by a moat around it, about 182 m. in breadth and 18 m. in depth. Other Greek writers have referred to the palace as one of the finest in the world, having gilded pillars adorned with golden vines and silver birds.

Candragupta maintained a vast army consisting of 6,00,000 infantry, 30,000 horsemen, 36,000 men with 9,000 elephants, and 24,000 men with nearly 8,000 chariots. There were six boards of five members each, four of which supervised the four divisions of the army, and the remaining two looked after the admiralty and transport *cum* commissariat.

According to a Jaina tradition of a very late date, Candragupta in his old age abdicated the throne, became a Jain ascetic, and in true Jain fashion, fasted unto death in a place called Sravana Belgola in Mysore.

We do not know much about Bindusāra, the son and successor of Candragupta except that he carried on friendly correspondence with the Syrian king Antiochus I Soter. There is, however, no doubt that during the period of about half a century, covered by the reigns of Candragupta and Bindusāra, the Magadha empire extended from the Hindu Kush to Mysore in the south, with the exception of the eastern coastal region known as Kaliṅga (Orissa with adjacent territories to the south).

Bindusāra's son and successor Aśoka who ascended the throne about 273 B.C., is by common consent regarded as one of the greatest kings in the history of the world. Some of the numerous records which he got engraved on rocks and pillars are still extant, and they give us an authentic and a very interesting account of his reign and personality. Indeed, he is the most familiar figure in ancient Indian history and still evokes the highest admiration both as a man and as a king.

The records which give us information about him may be classified as follows:

(i) *Fourteen Rock Edicts*: A set of fourteen edicts or inscriptions incised on rocks at eight different places in Peshāwar and Hazara districts in the north-west and Uttar Pradesh, Gujarāt, Bombay, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh.

(ii) *Minor Rock Edicts*: An edict incised on rocks at fourteen different places, the southernmost being three in Chitradurga district in Mysore. Five of these are accompanied by a supplementary or second edict. Another Minor Rock Edict has been found at Bahapur (New Delhi) in 1966. The site of the inscription probably envisages the existence of an important highway of the

Mauryan times connected with the contemporary settlement at Indraprastha, the antiquity of which has already been proved by the cultural remains of 1st millennium B.C. and later.

(iii) *Seven Pillar Edicts :* Six edicts engraved on fine monolithic pillars, one of which contains also a supplementary seventh edict.

(iv) Inscriptions of a miscellaneous character engraved on rocks, pillars and walls of caves.

All these inscriptions, except the two sets of Rock Edicts in North West Frontier Province are written in an alphabet, known as Brāhmī, from which all the modern Indian alphabets have been derived. The two Rock Edicts in North West Frontier Province are written in Kharoṣṭhī. Two inscriptions written in Aramaic script have been found, one in Takṣaśilā and the other in Jalālābād district, Afghānistan. A bilingual inscription, written in Greek and Aramaic, and another only in Greek (containing the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th Rock Edict) have been discovered near the old city of Kandahār in Afghānistān.

These inscriptions are the only reliable data for reconstructing the life and reign of Aśoka. The first and the most important event to which they refer, is his military campaign against Kaliṅga, obviously undertaken to round off the boundaries of the empire. The Thirteenth Rock Edict begins with the statement that 'Aśoka conquered Kaliṅga in his 9th regnal year and in course of the campaign 150,000 people were carried away captive, 100,000 were slain and many times that number perished' This was regarded by the emperor, who probably led the campaign in person as a great catastrophe, and the inscription describes in touching phrases the remorse felt by him for the miseries he had inflicted upon the people of Kaliṅga. Henceforth Aśoka eschewed the very idea of war and embraced Buddhism which preached non-violence as its cardinal doctrine. He was formally initiated into the new religion by a monk named Upagupta and spent the remaining years of his long reign of 41 years in propagating the moral teachings of Buddha which were expected to elevate the character and personality of every person, irrespective of the religious sect to which he belonged. Thus he preached obedience to parents and teachers, kindness to all, charity, non-violence or

non-injury to men and animals, truthfulness, continence, self-restraint, purity of thought, and similar moral precepts. He propagated these among the people by personal tours and asked his officers to do the same. In particular, he appointed a special class of officials called *Dharmamahāmātras* for this purpose, and engraved the teachings on rocks and pillars in prominent places where they would attract notice. He also organized shows and processions to impress, by visible means, the moral teachings upon the hearts of the people at large. In short, he propagated these moral teachings by all possible means, and also organized a network of missionaries to preach the new doctrine both in his own kingdom and beyond it. In the Thirteenth Rock Edict, Aśoka declared that in contrast to military conquest, such as that of Kaliṅga, he regarded the conquest through *Dhamma* (*Dharma*) as the 'chiefest conquest'. He also gave a list of countries outside his dominions where he achieved such conquest. This comprises the kingdoms of the Colas and the Pāṇḍyas in South India, and five states ruled by Greek kings, namely, Antiochus II Theos of Syria (261-246 B.C.), Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt (285–247 B.C.), Magas of Cyrene (*c*. 300-*c*. 250 B.C.), and two others who are probably to be identified with Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia (278–239 B.C.), and Alexander of Epirus (272–255 B.C.). We further know from Buddhist literature that Aśoka sent missionaries to Ceylon and Suvarṇabhūmi, which is usually taken to refer to Burma but may also include or designate other parts of South East Asia, notably Thailand. Inside India, missionaries were sent to all parts including the Himālayan regions of Kashmīr and Gandhāra. The immediate result of these missionary activities cannot be determined with any degree of certainty, but there can be hardly any doubt that they were primarily responsible for the wide spread of Buddhism in Asia. To Aśoka belongs the chief credit for converting a local sect into a world religion.

Aśoka practised what he preached. In the Seventh Pillar Edict, he referred to his works of public benevolence, such as planting banyan trees on the roadside for shade to men and beasts, growing mango orchards, causing wells to be dug at every eight *kosas*, and building rest-houses and watering sheds. He added that he did

all this with the intent that "men may follow the practices of *Dhamma*."

But though absorbed in religious activities, Aśoka was fully alive to his duties and responsibilities as a king, of which he had a very high conception. "All men are my children", said he, "and just as I desire for my children that they may enjoy every kind of prosperity and happiness, in both this world and the next, so also I desire the same for all men." In the Sixth Rock Edict, he declared his readiness to do official business for the good of his people at all hours and at all places. And he looked upon all these exertions as merely a discharge of his debt to the people. It is not every age and every country that is blessed with a king with such lofty ideals.

Aśoka ruled over a vast empire which was bounded on the south by approximately a line drawn from Nellore to the mouth of the Kalyāṇapuri river on the Western Coast. With the probable exception of Assam, nearly all of India and Pākistān, together with Afghanistan, was included in his empire. One writ in the same language and script ran from the Sindhu river to Mysore. Nothing like it has ever been witnessed since ; and it stands, indeed, as an ideal and despair even in modern India.

The Lion Capital of one of Aśoka's stone pillars has been adopted as the national symbol of free India. The earliest written record and also the earliest specimen of fine art belong to Aśoka's reign.

Aśoka died about 232 B.C., and with him departed the glory of the Mauryan empire. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa gives the names of his seven successors, but with no details. Internal dissensions and foreign invasions, to which reference will be made later, destroyed the power and prestige of the Mauryan empire till Bṛhadratha, the seventh king in succession from Aśoka, was killed by his Commander-in-Chief Puṣyamitra who ascended the throne about 187 B.C.

Sunga and Kanva Dynasties

Puṣyamitra was a Brāhmaṇa of the Śuṅga family, and hence the royal dynasty founded by him is known as the Śuṅga. Although

a regicide. Puṣyamitra must be given the credit of defending the Magadhan empire against the invasion of the Bactrian Greeks and restoring its old power and prestige to a considerable extent. He performed two *Aśvamedha* sacrifices in course of which his valiant grandson Vasumitra rescued the sacrificial horse from the Yavanas (Greeks) after a bitter fight on the banks of the Sindhu river. Ultimately, the Punjab and Sind were lost, but the Magadhan empire claimed at least nominal allegiance over a large part of North India. However, several regions gradually asserted their independence and Devabhūmi, the tenth king of the dynasty, was killed at the instance of his minister Vāsudeva, about 73 B.C.

The Kāṇva dynasty founded by Vāsudeva comprised only four kings, who ruled for a period of 45 years, and was overthrown by the Āndhras.

Greeks and Sakas

It has been related above that Seleucus, the general of Alexander, took possession of the Asiatic dominions of his master. The centre of his empire was the kingdom of Syria and the distant provinces were ruled by Governors. About 250 B.C. two of these provinces revolted and seceded from the Seleucid empire. In Parthia, south-east of the Caspian Sea, there was a revolt of the people who established an independent state. In the other province, Bactria, lying further to the east and north of the Hindu Kush mountains, it was the Greek Governor who successfully declared his independence and founded a royal dynasty. The Seleucid kings made strenuous but unsuccessful attempts to reassert their supremacy and about 208 B.C. virtually acknowledged the independence of both Bactria and Parthia. The Seleucid king Antiochus III, who led the last campaign against Bactria but failed, married his daughter to Demetrius, the son of the ruling king. Free from the menace of Seleucid invasion and with the added prestige of matrimonial alliance with the Seleucid emperors, the Greek rulers of Bactria became very powerful and cast longing eyes on the fertile plains of India. Demetrius, the king of Bactria, invaded India about 190 B.C. and wrested a considerable part of the Mauryan empire in the north-west. This indirectly caused or

facilitated the rebellion of Puṣyamitra ending in the death of the last Mauryan king.

The success of Demetrius in his Indian expeditions may be judged from the fact that the Greek writers refer to him as "king of the Indians". But while he was busy in India the throne of Bactria was usurped by one Eucratides and the fight between the two presumably helped Puṣyamitra to recover some of the territories conquered by the Bactrian Greeks and to restore the prestige of the Magadhan empire. The Greeks had to face other troubles also. This was due to a tribal movement in the north-west corner of China which had repercussions on the history of India. Some time about 165 B.C. a nomadic tribe called the Yueh-chi, living in Kansu in North-Western China, was driven west by another nomadic tribe, later known as the Hūṇas. The Yueh-chi, marching west, fell upon the Śakas who lived in the territory north of the Jaxartes (Syr Darya) river. Ousted from their homeland, the Śakas crossed the river, occupied Bactria and destroyed the Greek power in the valley of the Oxus, about 120 B.C. The Greeks of Bactria now took shelter in their dominions to the south of the Hindu Kush, i.e., Afghānistān and the Punjab where they ruled for more than two hundred years. Several Greek states fought against each other, but occasionally some great kings established their supremacy and even proceeded far into the interior of India. Such a king was Menander, who adopted Buddhism and became famous as Milinda in Buddhist literature. Another such king was Apollodotus who probably advanced towards Gujarāt. From the beautiful gold, silver, and copper coins issued by them we have the names of about thirty Greek kings ruling in this far off land but we have no details about their reigns. The names of most of them were unknown to the Hellenic world, but there can be hardly any doubt that the Greek influence upon Indian culture was derived from these chiefs rather than from Alexander. The great conqueror had swept over the plains of the Punjab, like a great whirlwind, hardly leaving any trace except massacre, devastation and desolation.

The Parthians, to whom reference has been made above, also invaded India. Their great king Mithradates I advanced up to the Sindhu about the middle of the 2nd century B.C. Somewhat

later a powerful chief named Maues established a kingdom in the Punjab. Another line of Parthian rulers established themselves in the Kandahār region, the most notable of them being Vonones and Azes. Special interest is attached to another Parthian king, Gondophernes, who ruled in the Takht-i-Bahi region in the North West Frontier Province (Pākistān). For, according to an old tradition, St. Thomas, one of the Apostles of Jesus Christ, visited the court of a king bearing this name and converted him to Christianity.

The Śakas who had settled in Bactria were once more defeated by the Yueh-chi and, forced to migrate towards the south and east, several bands of them entered India through various routes. They had a powerful settlement in the Kandahār region which was named after them as Śakasthāna, later corrupted into the modern form Seistān. In India the Śakas played an important role as is testified even today by the era called *Śakābda* (Śaka era) used all over India. There were at least three important kingdoms set up by the Śakas. Two of these had their capitals respectively at Mathurā and Takṣaśilā. The third comprised territories in Mālwa and the Kāthiāwār peninsula. The inscriptions and coins issued by them leave no doubt that they were full-fledged independent rulers, but, curiously enough, they called themselves Kṣatrapa, a Sanskritized form of Persian Satrap or Governor. Nothing is known about their overlord, if there was any. Nevertheless these rulers are called Satraps or Kṣatrapas in Indian history ; those of Mathurā and Takṣaśilā being known as Northern Satraps and the others, Western Satraps. Very little is known of the Northern Satraps but a great deal is known of the Western Satraps who were more than twenty in number and ruled for three centuries.

Kusanas

Reference has been made above to the migrations of the Yueh-chi tribe from the border of China to Bactria. After they had driven away the Śakas from Bactria, south of the Oxus, and settled in that region, two great changes came over them. In the first place, they gave up their nomadic habits and adopted

a settled life. Secondly, the Yueh-chi kingdom was divided into five independent principalities, each under a separate clan. More than a hundred years after this division, Kujula Kadphises, the ruler of one of the five clans, named Kuṣāṇa, established his authority over the remaining ones and once more brought the whole Yueh-chi tribe under one sceptre.

About this time the power of the Bactrian Greeks was in its last gasp. Hermaeus, the last of their rulers, had lost his possessions north of the Hindu Kush early in his reign to the Yueh-chis. Later, he was defeated by the Parthians who extinguished the rule of the Greco-Bactrians and occupied the last remnants of their dominion in Kābul. Kadphises now crossed the Hindu Kush, defeated the Parthians and made himself master of Kābul. The way was thus clear to him for the invasion of India. But, in the midst of his preparations, he died at the age of eighty. His son and successor, Wima Kadphises (or Kadphises II), took over the task and his victorious army advanced far into the interior of North India. There are good reasons to believe that the Kuṣāṇa authority was established at least as far as Vārānasi in the east. Thus was established a vast Kuṣāṇa empire which extended from the Oxus river or even beyond to the eastern border of Uttar Pradesh. Wima Kadphises, however, did not rule over the conquered territories in person. He appointed a number of Satraps to govern the different parts of his Indian dominion.

The next Kuṣāṇa king, Kaniṣka, is a famous name in the Buddhist world. His relationship with Wima Kadphises is not known, but he ruled over the vast Kuṣāṇa empire from his capital at Puruṣapura (modern Peshāwar). He was a great patron of Buddhism and the fourth General Assembly of the Buddhists is said to have been held during his reign and under his patronage. No wonder, therefore, that many traditions have gathered around his name. He is credited with victory over the Parthians and the Chinese, and the conquest of Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotān. He is also said to have extended his authority to the borders of the desert of Gobi in Central Asia, and ruled over Magadha and Kashmīr in India. Whatever may be the value of these traditions, there is no doubt that Kaniṣka held a vast empire

including territories in Central Asia, and certainly ruled over both Kashmīr and upper Sind and as far as Vārānasi in North India. He erected a great tower over the relics of Buddha at Peshāwar, which excited the wonder and admiration of visitors from distant countries. The discovery of the Buddha relics enshrined in the tower at Peshāwar and Kaniṣka's own life-size stone statue at Mathurā have made him very familiar in modern times. According to tradition, two great men lived in the court of Kaniṣka : one was the famous Buddhist scholar and poet, Aśvaghoṣa, and the other, Caraka, the great authority on medical science.

The date of Kaniṣka has been a subject of keen dispute. It is generally believed that his accession was commemorated by the famous Śaka era commencing in A.D. 78, which is still in use in India. But this view has been rejected by many scholars who have suggested a later date. There is no consensus of opinion on this subject.

Kaniṣka and his three successors—Vāsiṣka, Hụviṣka and Vāsudeva—of whom practically nothing is known, ruled for a period of about one hundred years. The decline of Kuṣāṇa power is generally attributed to the rise of the Sassanians in Īrān as a great power. They advanced up to the frontier of India, if not beyond, and probably imposed their suzerainty upon the Kuṣāṇas. But though the empire was gone, Kuṣāṇa kings continued to rule in Kābul and a part of the Punjab for a long time. They are known in history as the Later Kuṣāṇas, and some of them bore the names of the imperial Kuṣāṇas such as Kaniṣka and Vāsudeva. They were ousted by a third branch of the Kusāṇa family known as the Kidāra Kuṣāṇas who ruled in the same region till the 4th century A.D.

Western Satraps

The Western Satraps, to whom reference has been made above, ruled over an extensive territory comprising the modern state of Gujarāt, the adjoining parts of Madhya Pradesh and Rājasthān and Sind. There were, however, changes in the ruling dynasties, and the extent of the kingdom varied from time to time. The

oldest dynasty, the Kṣaharāta, consisted of two kings, Bhūmaka and Nahapāna. The latter was a powerful ruler and assumed the title *Rājan*. But he was defeated and his kingdom destroyed by the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. A new Satrapy was founded in the same region by Caṣṭana with his capital at Ujjayinī, in the first half of the 2nd century A.D.

Rudradāman was the greatest ruler in his time and we know a great deal about him from a long inscription he engraved in A.D. 150 on a rock at the Junagadh hill. He not only ruled over all the territories comprising the Western Satrapy but also extended his dominions far and wide. He claims to have defeated twice in fair fight the Lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha, a Sātakarṇi who was not distantly related to him. A Kānheri inscription mentions the daughter of Rudradāman as the queen of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi. Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi, the Śivamaka Sāta of an Amarāvatī inscription, probably a brother of Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi would seem to have been the defeated king. Rudradāman thus completely turned the tables against the Sātavāhanas who lost all the newly conquered territories to the north of Narmadā. According to his rock inscription, Rudradāman had high personal qualifications and was proficient in grammar, polity, logic, music and Sanskrit composition. His inscription is the first official record in Sanskrit, if we leave aside one or two very short records; for the practice hitherto was to compose inscriptions in Prākṛt.

Rudradāman assumed the title Mahākṣatrapa and nominated his son as a joint ruler with the title Kṣatrapa. This became a regular practice among the Western Kṣatrapas. The subsequent history of the family is full of struggles with the Sātavāhanas and internal quarrels. Taking advantage of their weakness, the Mālavas asserted independence in the north, and the Ābhīras established a powerful kingdom in Northern Mahārāshtra. An Indian era, commencing in A.D. 248-9, is generally believed to have been founded to commemorate the establishment of the independence of the Ābhīras, though this era was known in later times as the Kalacuri era. The last known ruler of Caṣṭana's family to assume the proud title of Mahākṣatrapa was Bhartṛdāman whose known dates range between Śaka 204 (A.D. 282-3) and 217 (A.D. 295-6). The title was revived in A.D. 348-9 by

Rudrasena III who probably belonged to a different family. The Western Kṣatrapas, though shorn of power and prestige, continued to rule till the end of the 4th century A.D. But the kingdom was torn by internal dissensions, more than one rival king contesting the throne. At last, after a rule of more than three hundred years the power of the Western Kṣatrapas was finally crushed by Chandragupta II.

Minor States in North India

The discovery of a large number of coins reveals the existence of states and kings of whom hardly anything is known. We can locate some of these kingdoms in the region round Ahicchatra (Bareilly), Kauśāmbī and Ayodhyā. They probably represent, respectively, the old kingdoms of Pañcāla, Vatsa and Kosala. Several rulers belonging to the Nāga family probably set up separate independent kingdoms; four of these, according to the Purāṇas, had their capitals at Vidiśā (Bhīlsa), Kāntipuri, Mathurā and Padmāvatī (Padam Pawaya, near Narwar in the old Gwalior state). The Bhāraśivas, probably also a Nāga family ruling in the last-named kingdom, became very powerful in the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D., and claim to have performed ten *Aśvamedha* sacrifices. It has been suggested that the famous Daśāśvamedha-ghāṭa at Vārāṇasi owes its name to this fact. This would mean that the Bhāraśivas extended their power up to the Gaṅgā, but of this we have no positive evidence.

Some of the states were non-monarchical. The Mālavas, probably the same as the Malloi who fought against Alexander in the Punjab, issued coins in the 1st century A.D. in the name of their republic. As thousands of these coins have been found at Nāgaur, in the old Jaipur state, the site probably marks the capital of the Mālava republic. The Mālavas are known to have fought successfully against the Śakas and other foreign invaders. They gave their name to the well-known province, Mālwa, now in Madhya Pradesh, and the era known as the Vikrama Samvat, starting in 58 B.C., was known as the Mālava Samvat before it was associated with the name of Vikramāditya. It is not unlikely

that the era commemorates the establishment of the Mālava republic at Nāgaur or Mālavanagara.

Another powerful republican state was founded by the Yaudheyas, comprising Eastern Punjab and some adjacent territories in Uttar Pradesh and Rājasthān. It is probable that the Johiyā Rājpūts of Johiyābar on the border of the Bahāwalpur state are the representatives of the Yaudheyas.

Deccan

Kaliṅga which was subjugated by Aśoka with much bloodshed, was one of the earliest to free itself from the yoke of the Magadhan empire. This was probably an achievement of the royal Cedi family. We know a great deal of king Khāravela, belonging to the third generation of this family, from a long inscription engraved on the roof and in front of the Hāthīgumphā cave in the Udayagiri hill near Bhubaneśwar. Crowned in his 24th year, he almost immediately began a career of conquest. He advanced as far as the river Kṛṣṇā and overran regions around Berār and Masulipatam. He maintained friendly relations with his western neighbours, the powerful Sātavāhanas, but led several military campaigns in Northern India in course of which he attacked the city of Rājagṛha, defeated the king of Magadha, and also subjugated Aṅga (Bhāgalpur). His campaigns caused such terror in the heart of a Yavana king that he fled westward; this Greek ruler has been identified with Demetrius but without sufficient evidence. Khāravela then moved to the far south and defeated the Pāṇḍya king. Even making due allowance for exaggeration, we must look upon Khāravela as a very powerful king who made Kaliṅga an imperial power. The record gives a long list of Khāravela's works of public utility. It is interesting to note that this Jaina king made it a point of honour to bring back from Magadha and Aṅga certain Jaina images which had been taken away by a Nanda king from Kaliṅga more than three hundred years before. The date of Khāravela is not known with certainty—he belonged to the 1st or 2nd century B.C. Nothing is known of his empire after his death.

To the west of Kaliṅga lay the dominions of the Āndhras, an

ancient people mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* which was composed about the 8th century B.C. Their kingdom in the Deccan had been part of the Mauryan empire but had enjoyed a great deal of autonomy. Shortly after the death of Aśoka, they threw off the yoke and founded an independent state under the Sātavāhana family. This dynasty was founded by Simuka. He and his successors established their authority from the mouth of the Kṛṣṇā to the entire Deccan plateau. According to the Purānas the Sātavāhana king killed the last Kānva ruler of Magadha and presumably took possession of his kingdom. But we have no positive evidence that the Sātavāhanas extended their rule in Northern India except in the region around Bhopāl.

The great achievement of the Sātavāhanas was that they successfully resisted the advance of the foreign invaders who had overrun Northern India. Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi who ascended the throne about A.D. 82 was the greatest king of this dynasty. He not only defeated the Śaka Satrap Nahapāna and drove him out of the Deccan, but also crushed his power and conquered a large area to the north of the Narmadā. Though Rudradāman recovered these territories, there is no gainsaying the fact that throughout the first two centuries of the Christian era the Sātavāhanas stood as the bulwark of defence for the Deccan and were mainly instrumental in saving it from subjugation by foreign invaders. A later ruler, Yajña Sātakarṇi even conquered the southern dominions of the Western Ksatrapas and probably also the eastern part of Madhya Pradesh. The fact that some of his coins contain representation of ships has been taken as evidence of the naval power of the Āndhras. Yajña was the last great ruler of the dynasty. Four or five kings ruled after him. In any case, the power of the Sātavāhanas came to an end about A.D. 250 though some branch families continued to rule for a further period. A number of minor kingdoms rose out of the ruins of the Āndhra domain such as the Ābhīras, mentioned above, the Ikṣvākus in the Āndhra country proper between the months of the Kṛṣṇā and .the Godavarī, the Bodhis and the Cuṭus in the North-west and South-west Deccan, the Bṛhatphalāyanas in the region around Masulipatam, and finally the Vakāṭakas who were destined to be the greatest power in the

Deccan between the fall of the Sātavāhanas and the rise of the Imperial Cālukyas in the 6th century A.D.

South India

South India specifically denotes the region that lies to the south of the rivers Kṛṣṇā and Tuṅgabhadrā. From time immemorial this region was the homeland of three powerful peoples, known as the Cera, Coḷa and Pāṇḍya. The Paṇḍya kingdom, undoubtedly associated with the Pāṇḍus of the *Mahābhārata*, covered the area lying to the south of the river Vallaru in the erstwhile Pudukkottai state. The Cera kingdom to its north-west stretched along the West Coast as far north as Konkan. The Coḷas, to the north-east of the Pāṇḍyas, occupied the delta of the Kāveri (Cauvery) and the adjoining lands to the north, sometimes including the parts round Kañcī (Kancipuram). There were, besides, a large number of smaller states, mostly in the Mysore plateau, which generally acknowledged the suzerainty of one or the other of the three leading kingdoms, and this entire region to the south of the Tirupati hill was known as the land of the Tamils.

The three kingdoms, Cera, Coḷa and Pāṇḍya, together with Satiyaputa (Satyaputra) are referred to as independent states by Aśoka in his inscriptions, and he maintained friendly relations with them. The name Satiyaputa is otherwise an unknown name and has not yet been satisfactorily identified.

Tamil literature throws some light on the history of these kingdoms. It appears that there was almost always a struggle for supremacy among them and an able ruler of one imposed his authority upon the others. Such a king was Karikāla who established the Coḷa authority over the whole of the Tamil country. His Pāṇḍya counterpart, king Neḍunjeḷiyan, distinguished himself by a similar achievement. Less distinguished was the Cera king Nedunjeral Ādan who is said to have defeated seven kings. He claims to have defeated the Yavana kings also, the allusion is probably to the chiefs of Greek and Roman trading colonies in South Indian ports. His younger brother and son were powerful kings.

7

The Gupta Empire

AT THE BEGINNING of the 4th century A.D., North India was divided into a large number of states, both monarchical and non-monarchical. One of these comprising probably a small portion of North Bengal and South Bihār was ruled over first by Śrī Gupta and then by his son, Ghaṭotkaca, with the title Mahārāja. The latter's son, Candragupta I, assumed the title *Mahārājādhirāja* and issued gold coins. He married a Licchavī princess named Kumāradevī and had her portrait engraved on his coins. This somewhat unique feature, and the fact that in all Gupta inscriptions containing royal genealogy Samudragupta, the son of Candragupta I, is called the 'daughter's son of the Licchavīs' whereas no reference to the maternal grandfather's family is made in regard to any other king, have led certain scholars to the assumption that Candragupta's rise to greatness was due to his alliance with the Licchavīs. Even if that is true, we do not know the exact nature of the alliance. It is also held that the Gupta era, commencing in A.D. 320, was founded by Candragupta. This is very likely but there is no definite evidence. The extent of his kingdom cannot be ascertained, some scholars believe on the strength of a passage in a Purāṇa, that he ruled over the Allahābād and Avadh regions.

Candragupta I was succeeded by his son Samudragupta. A long inscription on a pillar originally erected by Aśoka, and now at Allahābād, gives an account of this king which enables us to reconstruct his history with a fullness rare in Indian history. All his life was spent in military campaigns. Nine kings are specifically named as having been defeated and exterminated by Samudragupta; evidently it means that he annexed the dominions of these kings to his own. He then brought into submission a number of states that lay on the frontiers of his expanded kingdom. These included five kingdoms in Lower Bengal, Upper Assam, Nepāl

and the territories further west, as well as a number of republican clans including the Mālavas, the Yaudheyas, the Arjunāyanas, the Madras and the Ābhīras in the Punjab and Rājasthān, and several minor ones in Madhya Pradesh. They paid homage and taxes to the Gupta emperor but enjoyed internal autonomy. Having settled affairs nearer home Samudragupta led a military expedition to the South. He advanced through the forest tract of Madhya Pradesh to the Orissa coast and then proceeded through Ganjam, Vishakhapatnam, Godāvarī, Kṛṣṇā and Nellore districts as far as Kāñcī, the capital of the Pallavas. Twelve kings were defeated in course of this campaign but were reinstated, probably as tributary rulers.

It would appear that Samudragupta directly ruled over a vast territory in North India, extending roughly from the Brahmaputra to the Chambal, surrounded by a number of tributary states immediately to the north, east and west. The Śakas and Kuṣāṇas who ruled in the Punjab and Gujarāt, though independent, had the prudence to be submissive to the great emperor. Beyond the Vindhya range he exercised some sort of suzerainty over at least twelve states in the Deccan and South India.

The court poet who composed the Allahābād inscription rightly describes Samudragupta as the hero of a hundred battles, and Vincent Smith calls him the Napoleon of India. But in spite of his preoccupation with political and military affairs, he cultivated poetry and music. Some of his gold coins represent him as playing on the lyre. The Guptas were followers of the Brahmanical religion and Samudragupta performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, to proclaim not only his imperial power but probably also to emphasize the decline of Buddhism which disapproved of these sacrifices. However, he fully maintained the tradition of religious toleration. He even granted permission to the Buddhist king of Ceylon to build a monastery at Buddha Gayā.

According to some scholars, Samudragupta who died shortly before A.D. 380 was succeeded by his elder son Rāmagupta. A late tradition suggests that Rāmagupta suddenly attacked by the Śakas, made peace with them on the condition that his queen was to be surrendered to the Śaka chief. This infuriated his younger brother Candragupta, who went himself in the disguise

of the queen to the Śaka chief and killed him. Then he murdered his royal brother and married the queen. The official records of the Guptas, however, do not refer to Rāmagupta and trace the succession directly from Samudragupta to Candragupta II. No gold coin of the type issued by the Gupta emperors bears the name of Rāmagupta. On these grounds many scholars do not believe in the existence of Rāmagupta and look upon Candragupta as the immediate successor of Samudragupta.

Candragupta II was also a great conqueror like his father. He defeated the last of the Western Kṣatrapas, Rudrasiṁha III, and annexed his territories. It is mainly on account of this achievement that Candragupta II is identified with the traditional Vikramāditya whose fame rests upon the destruction of the Śakas. Candragupta II seems also to have led military expeditions to Bengal in the east and to the territory beyond the Sindhu river in the west, which was ruled by the Later Kuṣāṇas. The Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hien, who travelled in India during the reign of Candragupta II, was impressed by the peace, prosperity and security prevailing in his empire.

Candragupta II died about A.D. 413 and was succeeded by his son Kumāragupta who enjoyed a long reign of more than forty years. He performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, but we do not know of any military success achieved by him. He maintained intact the vast empire built up by his two predecessors. Towards the close of his reign the peace of the kingdom was disturbed by internal enemies whose identity is uncertain. The Crown Prince, Skandagupta, defeated the enemies after a severe conflict.

Skandagupta returning from his victorious campaign, found that his father was dead. This probably caused some trouble and internal dissension. Skandagupta inherited his father's throne and saved the fortunes of the Gupta empire a second time by repulsing the ferocious Hūṇas when they invaded India and struck terror all over the country. This heroic feat entitled him, like Samudragupta and Candragupta II, to assume the title of Vikramāditya.

Skandagupta died about A.D. 467 and the line of succession after him is very uncertain. Purugupta, a son of Kumāragupta by the chief queen, who was probably not the mother of Skandagupta, ruled for some time and was succeeded by his son Budhagupta

whose earliest known date is A.D. 477 and the latest A.D. 495. But a king named Kumāragupta II is known to have reigned in A.D. 474. This indicates internal dissension which continued after the end of Budhagupta's reign. He was succeeded by his brother Narasiṁhagupta and the latter by his son and grandson, Kumāragupta III and Viṣṇugupta—the three reigns covered the period c. A.D. 500 to 550. Two other kings, Vainyagupta and Bhānugupta, ruled respectively in A.D. 507 and 510.

The available evidence leaves no doubt that the first half of the 6th century A.D. witnessed the decline and downfall of the Gupta empire. Apart from a struggle between rival claimants to the throne, and the revolt of feudal chiefs or tributary rulers, there was the invasion of the Hūṇas. These hordes, kept in check by Skandagupta, again pushed into India and under their two famous chiefs, Toramāṇa and Mihirakula, advanced as far as Gwalior and Eran (Madhya Pradesh).

At this grave crisis rose a great warrior named Yaśodharman (A.D. 530–40) whose family ruled as feudatories of the Guptas in Mālava. He not only defeated Mihirakula and stopped the advance of the Hūṇas, but also destroyed the Gupta empire. His official record, engraved in duplicate on two pillars at Mandasor, claims that his suzerainty was acknowledged over the vast area bounded by the Himālayas, the Brahmaputra, the Mahendra mountains in the Ganjām district, and the Arabian Sea, and that he was lord of territories not possessed by the Hūṇas and even by the Guptas. Whatever we may think of this boast, there is no doubt that the Gupta empire was practically destroyed by the victories of Yaśodharman. But he could not build up a new one. Nothing is known of his empire after his death.

Though shorn of power and prestige, traces of the Gupta empire still remained. Narasiṁhagupta survived Yaśodharman and probably dealt the final death blow to the Hūṇas. He and his two successors, named above, carried on the imperial tradition though their authority probably did not extend beyond Magadha. But no trace of Gupta rule exists after A.D. 550.

8

North India From A. D. 500 to 650

THE BREAK-UP OF the Gupta empire was followed by the rise of a number of independent states. Magadha was ruled by a line of kings with names ending in Gupta. They are called Later Guptas in order to distinguish them from the Imperial Guptas. To the west, in modern Uttar Pradesh ruled the Maukharis. Iśānavarman of this dynasty claims to have inflicted defeats upon the Hūṇas, and this probably checked their further advance to the east. There was constant conflict between the Maukharis and the Later Guptas, and the former occupied a part of Magadha for a time. The Later Guptas carried their victorious arms as far as the Brahmaputra and even captured the king of Kāmarūpa (Assam).

The Maitraka clan established a kingdom in Gujarāt with its capital at Valabhī, which soon became a seat of learning and culture as well as a great centre of trade and commerce. It flourished for nearly three hundred years and was probably overthrown by the Arabs of Sind. The Gupta era, under the changed name of Valabhī era, was current in the kingdom.

Another state was founded with Thāneśvar as its capital. The fourth king, Prabhākaravardhana, who was very powerful, extended his sway over neighbouring territories and assumed imperial titles. His daughter Rājyaśrī was married to the Maukhari king Grahavarman. There were three other kingdoms, Mālava, Gauḍa (Bengal) and Kāmarūpa.

Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa, not only established his authority over the whole of Bengal but also added Orissa to his dominions. He then advanced towards the west and, in alliance with the king of Mālava, defeated and killed the Maukhari king Grahavarman of Kannauj and imprisoned his queen Rājyaśrī. According to Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Grahavarman was killed by the king of Mālava.

About that time her father had died and the throne of Thāneśvar was occupied by her brother Rājyavardhana. When he heard of the calamity that had befallen his sister he set out with an army against Śaśāṅka. He encountered a vanguard of enemy troops led by the king of Mālava, an ally of Śaśāṅka, and defeated them. But while proceeding towards Kānyakubja (Kannauj) he was himself killed by Śaśāṅka, under circumstances not definitely known.

As soon as this news reached Thāneśvar, Harṣavardhana, the younger brother of Rājyavardhana, ascended the throne and advanced with a powerful army against Śaśāṅka. On his way he heard that his sister Rājyaśrī had been released from prison, but, distracted with grief she had gone away, no one knew where. Harṣavardhana went out in search of his sister and traced her in the Vindhya forest. Whether he resumed his campaign against Śaśāṅka is not known, for Bāṇabhaṭṭa's biography of Harṣa from which the above account is taken abruptly ends with the reunion of the royal brother and sister.

The subsequent career of Harṣa is known from the account of Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, who travelled all over India during his reign and was on very friendly terms with him. Harṣa carried on military campaigns as far as Orissa, probably after Śaśāṅka's death, and made himself master of the vast territory comprising Eastern Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihār, West Bengal and Orissa, together with a few other adjoining regions. Independent kings like his son-in-law, the king of Valabhī, and his ally, king Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa, offered him homage and even attended his court. Harṣa also attempted to extend his power beyond the Narmadā but was defeated by the Cālukya king Pulakeśin II. A keen patron of learning Harṣa was himself the author of several dramas. Hiuen Tsang's extravagant praises of his personality, administration, religion and charitable activities make him appear a far greater king than he actually was. According to Hiuen Tsang, Harṣa embraced Buddhism and showed distinct partiality towards that religion, but contemporary records describe him as a Śaiva. He maintained diplomatic relations with China and died at the end of A.D. 646 or the beginning of A.D. 647. He had ascended the throne in A.D. 606 and is generally

believed to have founded an era to commemorate the event; but this is at best very doubtful.

Four important kingdoms in Northern India were certainly outside the empire of Harṣavardhana. These were Kashmīr and Sind on the north-west and Kāmarūpa and Nepāl on the north-east. The early history of Kashmīr is somewhat obscure. Some time before the middle of the 7th century A.D., Durlabhavardhana, a man of humble origin, won the throne by marrying the king's daughter and founded the Kārkoṭa dynasty. In Sind, a poor Brāhmaṇa rose to the throne by his ability and ruled over a vast kingdom stretching from the border of Kashmīr to the sea on the south and Makrān on the west, with his capital at Alor. Kāmarūpa had belonged to the Gupta empire. In the first half of the 6th century A.D., it became an independent and powerful kingdom comprising the whole of the Brahmaputra valley and Sylhet as well as the portion of North Bengal to the east of the Karatoyā river.

Nepāl's earlier rulers were the hill tribes known as the Ābhīras and the Kirātas. It became a powerful kingdom under a long line of rulers who called themselves Licchavīs, the name of a well-known republican tribe in ancient India. The Licchavī princess whom Candragupta I married might well have belonged to this family. Nepāl was a tributary state under Samudragupta; it became free at the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 6th century A.D. About this time a Licchavī king Mānadeva grew powerful and extended his sway beyond the Nepāl valley proper (the valley around Kātmāndu entirely surrounded by hills and about 32 km. long and 24 km. broad). About A.D. 580 the royal authority was usurped by Aṁśuvarman but the Licchavī line was restored about A.D. 643.

9

The Deccan

THE FALL OF the Sātavāhanas about the 3rd century A.D. led to the rise of a number of kingdoms in the Deccan. The most powerful among them was the Vākāṭaka kingdom founded by Vindhyaśakti about the end of the 3rd century A.D. His son Pravarasena was a great conqueror. Ruling over the country from Bundelkhand in the north to the old Hyderābād state in the south, he called himself *Samrāṭ* and performed four *Aśvamedha* sacrifices. After his death his empire was divided into two parts. The rulers of the main branch were at first on friendly terms with the Guptas, and king Rudrasena II married Prabhāvatīgupta, a daughter of emperor Candragupta II. The influence of the Gupta court steadily increased, especially after the death of Rudrasena II, when the administration was carried on by Prabhāvatīgupta as regent for her minor son. With the decline of the Gupta power, the Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena asserted suzerainty over Madhya Pradesh. After his death a branch family became powerful under Hariṣeṇa who is credited with extensive conquests in Madhya Pradesh, Gujarāt and Mahārāshtra. His reign ended some time before A.D. 550, and afterwards nothing is known of the Vākāṭakas.

The end of the Vākāṭakas almost synchronized with the rise of the Cālukyas in the Deccan. Sometime about A.D. 535 one of their chiefs, Pulakeśin I founded a small kingdom with Vātāpipura (modern Bādāmi in the Bijāpur district) as his capital. His two sons, Kīrtivarman I and Maṅgaleśa, extended their kingdom by conquests and it became almost co-extensive with the old province of Bombay, south of the Mahi river. The next notable king was Pulakeśin II, son of Kīrtivarman I, who ascended the throne in A.D. 609-610. A long inscription on the walls of a Jaina temple at Aihole, dated A.D. 634-5 gives an account of his reign. He fought and killed his uncle Maṅgaleśa who wanted

to place his own son on the throne. In spite of this civil war Pulakeśin made notable conquests. He defeated the Kadambas of Banavāsi, the Gaṅgas of Mysore, and the Mauryas of Konkan in the south, and established his suzerainty over the Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gurjaras (i.e. Mālwa and Gujarāt) in the north. His greatest achievement was the defeat he inflicted on Harṣavardhana. Then followed the conquest of South Kosala and nearly the whole of Eastern Deccan. The annexed region between the Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvarī (Veṅgī) was placed under Pulakeśin's brother as Governor, and this was the beginning of the kingdom of the Eastern Cālukyas, who survived the fall of the main Cālukya branch. The next act of Pulakeśin II was to defeat the Pallavas of Kāñcī, and having crossed the Kāverī he established alliance with the three southern powers, Cera, Coḷa and Pāṇḍya.

Pulakeśin II was undoubtedly the greatest king of India in his age and the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang who visited his kingdom pays him high eulogy. However, his end was tragic. About A.D. 642 Pulakeśin again attacked the Pallava kingdom and advanced almost to the capital city, but he was disastrously defeated by king Narasiṁhavarman I and forced to retreat. The Pallava ruler now invaded the Cālukya kingdom, routed and killed Pulakeśin and devastated his capital Bādāmi.

Cālukya sovereignty remained virtually in abeyance for thirteen years. Then Vikramāditya I, son of Pulakeśin not only re-established his authority over the whole kingdom but wreaked vengeance upon the Pallavas by defeating three successive Pallava kings and capturing Kāñcī. He also defeated the southern powers, the Ceras, Coḷas and Pāṇḍyas. The Pallavas retaliated and forced Vikramāditya to give up his southern conquests. Vikramāditya died in A.D. 681 and his son and successor Vinayāditya (A.D. 681-696) carried his victorious arms far and wide, as far as the Pāṇḍya kingdom in the south and the Mālavas and the Haihayas in the north. He also claimed to have defeated the paramount power of North India, whose name is not mentioned, and in inscriptions of a later date he is credited with levying tribute on Īrān and Ceylon.

The struggle with the Pallavas continued during the reign of

his successors with varying success. To king Vikramāditya II (A.D. 733-745) belongs the credit of having repulsed the Arabs of Sind who had reached the northern frontier of the Cālukya dominion after overrunning the intervening territory. This was the last great achievement of this dynasty which produced a large number of powerful kings. The next king, Kīrtivarman II, was defeated by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Cālukya rule came to an end about A.D. 753, though Kīrtivarman II nominally ruled over a part of his kingdom till at least A.D. 757.

In addition to the Vākāṭakas and the Cālukyas, many minor ruling dynasties flourished both in Western and Eastern Deccan. In Western Deccan there were the Gomins with their capital at Candrapur (Chandor in Goa) ruling in 4th and 5th centuries and the Bhojas, ruling in the same region in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. Northward, a Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief named Mānāṅka founded a small principality in the Sātāra district with its capital at Mānapura. Further north were the Traikūṭakas whose king Dahrasena reigned in A.D. 465 and performed an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. His son, Vyāghrasena (A.D. 490) is referred to as the Lord of Aparānta (Northern Konkan) and other regions. The inscriptions of this dynasty have been found as far as 80 km. south of Surat and their coins have been found in Southern Gujarāt and beyond the Western Ghāts. The Traikūṭakas were supplanted by the Kalacuris who ruled in the same region in the 6th century A.D.

In the Eastern Deccan a dynasty claiming descent from Nala (mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*), ruled in the Vishākhapatnam district. The Nalas had conquered a large part of the dominions of the Vākāṭakas. There were several branches of the Nala family who probably ruled over various minor states as far as Kurnool district in the south. In the Āndhra country, the region between the lower courses of the Godāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā, there ruled the Ikṣvākus in the lower Kṛṣṇā valley. Cāṁtamūla I (Śāntamūla I), the founder of the royal family, performed the *Aśvamedha* and other Vedic sacrifices, but his successors leaned towards Buddhism. To the north of the Ikṣvākus the region round Masulipatam was ruled by the Bṛhatphalāyanas; both these dynasties were overthrown by the Pallavas at the end of the 3rd century A.D. after

less than half a century's rule. But the Pallavas also lost this region in the 4th century A.D. when we find the Ānanda family ruling round the Guntur district and the Śālaṅkāyanas in the Godāvarī district with their capital at Veṅgī (modern Peddavegi near Ellore). Hastivarman, the Śālaṅkāyana king was defeated by Samudragupta in the course of his southern expedition but was reinstated, and the Śālaṅkāyanas ruled the Āndhra country proper till they were ousted by the Viṣṇukuṇḍins about the beginning of the 6th century A.D.

The Viṣṇukuṇḍins were powerful rulers and one of their kings. Mādhavavarmana, claims to have performed eleven *Aśvamedha* sacrifices, one thousand *Agniṣṭomas*, and the *Hiraṇyagarbha Mahādāna*. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins fought successfully with the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga and at one time ruled over the Guntur, Kṛṣṇā, Godāvarī and Vishākhapatnam districts.

Kaliṅga, after the death of Khāravela, was divided into a number of petty states some of which were conquered by Samudragupta. During the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. the Pitṛbhaktas ruled in Central Kaliṅga with their capital at Siṁhapura, near Chicacole, and the Māṭharas in Southern Kaliṅga with their capital at Piṣṭapura (Pithāpuram). When these two were struggling for supremacy, Southern Kaliṅga was conquered by the Cālukyas of Bādāmi and Central Kaliṅga by the Gaṅgas of North Kaliṅga. These Gaṅgas were known as the Eastern Gaṅgas to distinguish them from an earlier (Western) Gaṅga dynasty of Mysore of whom they were probably an offshoot. The Eastern Gaṅgas have left numerous records which give us the names of many kings though very little is known about them. They founded an era which commenced probably at the end of the 5th or the middle of the 6th century A.D.

Orissa acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas till at least A.D. 570, and then the Māna and Śailodbhava dynasties established two independent kingdoms. The Śailodbhavas ruled over the region extending from the Chilkā lake to the Mahendragiri mountain in the Ganjām district, and the Mānas, to their north. Both these kingdoms were conquered by Śaśāṅka and, after his death, by Harṣavardhana. About the middle of the 7th century, the Śailodbhava king Mādhavavarman declared independence and per-

formed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. The family continued to rule till nearly the end of the 8th century A.D.

The Karas and several branches of the Bhañjas ruled in different parts of Orissa in the 8th century and later.

To the west of Orissa lay the region known as South Kosala which comprised the modern districts of Raipur, Bilāspur and Sambalpur. It formed a part, first of the Sātavāhana and then of the Gupta empire. About the second half of the 5th century A.D. two independent kingdoms were founded in the Raipur district, one by Śūra and the other by Śarabha. Then came the Pāṇḍu-vaṁśīs or rulers of the Pāṇḍava family who ruled over the whole of South Kosala. A branch of them ruled in the 5th century A.D. in Mekala (Maikala) near the source of the Narmadā.

Reference has been made above to the three traditional kingdoms in the Tamil land. The rise of the Sātavāhanas introduced new elements. In the first place, a people called Kalvār were forced to migrate to the Tamil land and they established their influence there for some time. After the fall of the Sātavāhanas, the Pallavas made themselves masters of the entire region from the Kṛṣṇā to the Pālār river. The origin of the Pallavas is obscure. They have been identified by some with the Parthians who were probably brought into the Tamil land by the Sātavāhanas as their Governors or military officials. But others regard them as indigenous. In any case the Pallavas shared with the Pāṇḍyas the supremacy over Tamil land and fixed their capital at Kāñcī. Siṁhaviṣṇu, the Pallava king during the last quarter of the 6th century A.D., seized the Coḷa country and extended his power to the Kāverī. His son and successor, Mahendravarman I, (*c.* A.D. 600–630) justly famous for his literary gifts and knowledge of music and architecture, was unfortunately involved in a quarrel with the Cālukyas of Bādāmi, which continued with varying results till the 8th century A.D. King Narasiṁhavarman II (*c.* A.D. 700–728) who ruled in comparative peace, is chiefly remembered for his architectural activities, and the famous Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcī built by him inaugurated the Dravidian style of architecture. He sent an ambassador to China and was highly honoured by the Chinese emperor. Nandivarman II, who was elected king at the age of twelve by the chief citizens of the state

(A.D. 731) and reigned for over sixty-five years, suffered defeat at the hands of the Pāṇḍya, Cālukya, and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings but kept his empire intact.

The Pāṇḍya power was revived by Kaḍuṅgoṇ in the last quarter of the 6th century. King Arikesarī Māravarman (A.D. 670–700) extended his kingdom by conquering Cera and other regions and humbled the Pallavas with the help of the Cālukyas. His successor Koccaḍaiyan (A.D. 700–730) annexed the greater part of Koṅgu (Coimbatore and Salem districts).

The Western Gaṅgas ruled over the region known after them as Gaṅgavāḍi comprising a large part of Karnataka. They were at first feudatory to the Pallavas but king Durvinīta (*c.* A.D. 540–600) threw off the yoke and conquered Punnāḍ (Southern Karnataka) and the Koṅgu country. The next important king Śrīpuruṣa assumed imperial titles.

The Kadamba dynasty was founded by Brāhmaṇa Mayūraśarman in the third quarter of the 4th century with his capital at Banavāsi. The kingdom flourished under a succession of able rulers till it was conquered and annexed to the Cālukya kingdom by Pulakeśin II. The Ālupas ruled in the Tuluva country (South Kanara) about the same time. Reference has already been made to Koṅgu and Cera which existed from a very early period. None of these three attained any political importance. The Coḷas also ceased to exercise any political power, since they were subdued first by the Kalabhras or Kalvars and then by the Pallavas. A branch known as the Telugu Coḍas, ruled in Renāṇḍu (Cuddapah district) as feudatories of the Pallavas and the Cālukyas.

10

North India From A.D. 650 to 750

WITH HARṢA'S DEATH ended the famous Puṣpabhūti family and the mighty empire founded by his prowess and ability. The events following his death are not known and no light is thrown on the history of the period by any Indian record. Although the process of the disintegration of his empire cannot be traced in detail, it is clearly marked by the rise of two or three powerful states in its component parts. Outside the empire, the kingdom of Kāmarūpa continued to flourish under king Bhāskaravarman, who entered into an alliance with Harṣavardhana, probably with the purpose of offsetting the growing power of Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa who was a common enemy of both. Bhāskaravarman was the best-known king of the Varman line in Kāmarūpa. He conquered western Bengal after the death of King Śaśāṅka. Himself well-versed in the *Śāstras*, he was a great patron of learning and men of high talent from distant regions visited his court. The Varman dynasty, however, ended with him. Shortly afterwards, we find a *mleccha* (barbarian) king, named Sālastambha ruling over Kāmarūpa. His successors ruled in Kāmarūpa in the 8th century but very little is known of them.

The Later Guptas, mentioned earlier, had come into possession of Mālava but were faced with a great calamity the exact nature of which is not known. The ruling king seems to have lost his life and kingdom; his two minor sons, Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, took shelter in the court of Thāneśvar, whose king was related to them. There they became playmates and friends of Rājyavardhana and Harṣavardhana. When the latter became master of Magadha, he appointed Mādhavagupta its king. Ādityasena, the son and successor of Mādhavagupta, was a powerful king and assumed imperial titles. Under him and his three successors, all of whom bore imperial titles, the Later Guptas were the supreme power in Eastern India.

Early in the 8th century we find a powerful king Yaśovarman on the throne of Kannauj. His court-poet Vākpati has described his career of conquest in a Prākṛt poem named *Gauḍavaho* (slaying of Gauḍa). We are told that he overran Bihār and Bengal, and marching west along Narmadā up to the Western Ghāts turned north and conquered Rājasthān and Thāneśvar. How far this account may be accepted as historically true, is difficult to say. In alliance with Lalitāditya, king of Kashmīr, Yaśovarman led a campaign against the Tibetans and defeated them. He sent his minister to the court of China in A.D. 731, but the object of this mission is obscure. Soon after, a quarrel arose between him and Lalitāditya who invaded his dominions and defeated him. Nothing further is known of Yaśovarman or his kingdom after this.

In Sind, Cac died after a reign of nearly 40 years (*c.* A.D. 622-662) and was succeeded by his brother Candar who ruled for seven years. The death of Candar was followed by a struggle for succession ending in the division of the kingdom into two parts. The internal dissensions continued for a period of over thirty years during which the Arabs were knocking at the gates of Sind. Their repeated attacks proved unsuccessful until Dāhar, the younger son of Cac, had reunited the kingdom after his elder brother's death round about A.D. 700. It was during Dāhar's reign, that the Arabs finally conquered Sind.

After the death of Śaśāṅka, Bengal fell on evil days, and was successively invaded by Bhāskaravarman, Yaśovarman, Lalitāditya and others. With the political solidarity of Bengal destroyed, a period of chaos and confusion followed. There was no central authority and each landlord or local chief behaved as independent king. Might became right and the miseries of the people knew no bounds. Unable to bear them, the people or rather the chiefs elected Gopāla to be their king and voluntarily submitted to him. This unique act of self-sacrifice, statesmanship and patriotism bore good fruit. The royal dynasty founded by Gopāla, known as the Pāla dynasty, ruled for nearly four hundred years and not only brought peace and prosperity to Bengal, but raised her to a height of political greatness which she never knew before or since.

11

From the 8th Century to A.D. 1206

GOPĀLA, FOUNDER OF the Pāla dynasty, reigned in the third quarter of the 8th century A.D. and was succeeded by his son Dharmapāla (c. A.D. 780-812). The kingdom of the Pālas now comprised Gauḍa, Vaṅga, Rāḍha and Magadha. Dharmapāla, who was the most powerful king of the dynasty, tried to establish an empire in Northern India. This involved him in war with the Pratihāras of Mālava and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Deccan, who also tried to expand their kingdoms. The Pratihāra Vatsarāja invaded the kingdom of the Pālas and achieved notable success, but he himself suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruva III. The latter, after his victory over the Pratihāras, advanced with his army towards the *Doāb* between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā where he defeated Dharmapāla. After the return of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas to the Deccan, Dharmapāla led expeditions in Northern India, conquered Kannauj, and placed on its throne his protege Cakrāyudha. An assembly of the kings of Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avantī, Gandhāra and Kīra, who paid obeisance to Dharmapāla, was held at Kannauj, and with their support Cakrāyudha was installed on the throne. Nāgabhaṭa II, son and successor of Vatsarāja, invaded Kannauj and wrested the kingdom from Cakrāyudha. Then he advanced eastward and inflicted a defeat on Dharmapāla near Monghyr. He established his capital at Kannauj, where he and his successors ruled for more than two hundred years.

Devapāla who succeeded his father Dharmapāla, intended to establish an empire and led expeditions against many states. He won victory over the king of Gurjara and reached the Kamboja country (the Punjab or N.W.F.P.). He conquered Prāgjyotiṣa (Assam) and Utkala and curbed the pride of the king of Drāviḍa. He was succeeded, about A.D. 850 by his cousin Vigrahapāla I. After a short reign, Vigrahapāla was succeeded by his son,

Nārāyaṇapāla, during whose reign the Pratihāra Mahendrapāla annexed Gauḍa and Magadha to his Pratihāra kingdom about A.D. 892. In the later part of his reign Nārāyaṇapāla recovered Gauḍa and Magadha. He ruled for more than 54 years and ended his reign in the early years of the 10th century.

During the regime of his three successors, the Pālas suffered from the invasion of the Candellas and the Kalacuris and lost their hold over Vaṅga, Gauḍa and Rāḍha. During the rule of the next king Mahīpāla, sometime about c. A.D. 1021, Rajendracoḷa, a king of Southern India, attacked Mahīpāla successfully but went back without annexing any territory. The kingdom of Mahīpāla extended upto Vārānasi which he had to surrender to the Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva sometime after A.D. 1026. During the rule of his third successor Mahīpāla II, a high officer of the state and a Kaivarta by caste killed him and usurped the throne of Gauḍa. But Rāmapāla, the younger brother of Mahīpāla, recovered his ancestral kingdom.

After consolidating his position at home, Rāmapāla turned his activities towards the extension of his political influence over the neighbouring states, and attained some success. Rāmapāla died in c. A.D. 1120 and was succeeded by his son Kumārapāla during whose reign the kingdom of the Pālas, well consolidated by Rāmapāla, began to disintegrate. Nānyadeva of Mithilā invaded Gauḍa and claimed to have won a victory. The Gāhaḍavālas wrested a part of Magadha from the Pālas and annexed it to their kingdom. Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga conquered all the territories upto Hooghly. Vijayasena of the Sena dynasty, who allied himself with Anantavarman, greatly enhanced his political power in Rāḍha. Vaidyadeva put down the revolt of Tiṅgyadeva in Kāmarūpa and made himself the ruler of that region. The rule of the Pāla dynasty came to an end about the middle of the 12th century A.D.

Candras

The Candras were originally inhabitants of Rohitagiri (identified with Rohtāsgarh in the Shāhābād district, Bihar), situated in the kingdom of the Pālas. The early members of the dynasty

seem to have been feudatories of the Pālas in Vaṅga with their headquarters at Vikramapura. In the middle of the 10th century A.D., Śrīcandra, son of Trailokyacandra, declared independence, asserted supremacy over all other chiefs of Vaṅga and brought Candradvīpa under his control. Vikramapura, which rose to political importance from this time, served as the capital of the Candra dynasty. Śrīcandra, ruled for about half a century (*c.* 925-975) and was followed successively by his son Kalyāṇacandra and grandson Laḍahacandra. The next ruler, Govindacandra, suffered defeat at the hands of Rājendracoḷa shortly before A.D. 1025. Govindacandra (*c.* 1020-55) seems to have been the last king of the Candra dynasty, which was overthrown by the Yādavas known also as Varmans.

Varmans

The Varmans, who claim to have belonged to the Yādava race, were originally the rulers of Siṁhapura, which is probably identical with the modern village of Singur, in the Hooghly district. Vajravarman seems to have established the supremacy of his family in Vaṅga after overthrowing the Candras. Vajravarman was succeeded by his son Jaṭāvarman, who flourished in the second half of the 11th century A.D. Jaṭāvarman married Vīraśrī, the daughter of Karṇa. His grandson, Bhojavarman, was defeated by Vijayasena in the middle of the 12th century and the rule of the Varmans came to an end.

Senas

The Senas of Bengal called themselves Kṣatriya, Brahma-Kṣatriya and Karṇāṭa-Kṣatriya, and were originally inhabitants of Dakṣiṇāpatha. Vijayasena, who ascended the throne in *c.* A.D. 1095, conquered Vaṅga, defeating Bhojavarman, and wrested Gauḍa from the last Pāla king Madanapāla. After making himself master of Gauḍa, Vaṅga and Rāḍha, he invaded Kāmarūpa and Kaliṅga. The Senas had a capital in Vikramapura and another in Vijayapura, modern Nadia.

Vijayasena was succeeded by his son Ballālasena in *c.* A.D.

1158. He conquered Mithilā and a portion of East Bihār. In A.D. 1178, he was succeeded by Lakṣmaṇasena, who defeated Jayacandra of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty and king of Kāśī, and conquered Prāgjyotiṣa. He was a noted general, but in the later part of his reign when he became stricken with age, Muḥammad bin Bakhtyār Khaljī by a sudden raid captured Nadia, where Lakṣmaṇasena lived. The latter retired to Vikramapura where he ruled till about A.D. 1205. His son Viśvarūpasena succeeded him to the throne. After the conquest of Nadia, Muḥammad bin Bakhtyār Khaljī conquered North Bengal and Muslim rule was established in Rāḍha and Gauḍa. The Muslims invaded Vaṅga during the reign of Viśvarūpasena but were repulsed. Viśvarūpasena was succeeded by his brother Keśavasena, who routed an invasion of Malik Saifu'd-dīn in A.D. 1231-33. About the middle of the 13th century, the Senas were overthrown by the Deva dynasty reigning in Samataṭa (Lower Bengal) to the east of the Brahmaputra, the capital of which seems to have been Paṭṭikerā on the Maināmati hills, in the Tripura district.

Deva Dynasty

King Dāmodara, who ruled in the second quarter of the 13th century, seems to have asserted his supremacy over the whole of Samataṭa, and his son Danujamādhava Daśarathadeva conquered Vaṅga from the Senas in the middle of the century. Daśaratha seems to have transferred his capital to Vikramapura. In A.D. 1283 he had to enter into an agreement with Balban, the Sulṭān of Delhi, who came to Sonargaon (in the Nārāyanganj subdivision, Dacca district) to prevent the escape of the rebel Ṭughril by water. In the later part of the 13th century, probably after the death of Daśaratha, the kingdom of the Deva dynasty was conquered by the Muslims.

Pratiharas

The term Rājpūt means a prince. The bards of the 14th century mention Rājpūt as a tribe comprising thirty-six clans, of which the Pratihāras, Paramāras, Caulukyas (Solāṅkīs), and

the Cāhamānas were members of *Agni-kula*. Some of these clans —the Pratihāras, Paramāras, Caulukyas, Cāhamānas, Guhilas, Gāhaḍavālas, Kacchapaghātas and the Tomaras--played an important role in the history of the period under review.

A branch of the Pratihāras, founded by the son of the Brāhmaṇa Haricandra by his Kṣatriya wife, ruled in the Jodhpur state, Rājasthān, which was situated in Gurjarātra, also known as Gurjara. Another branch of the family, the members of which seem to have been descendants of Haricandra by his Brāhmaṇa wife, founded a kingdom in Mālava, the capital of which was Ujjayinī, in the first half of the 8th century. The earliest known king of this branch was Nāgabhaṭa I, who earned renown by repulsing an attack of the *mlecchas*, evidently the Arabs of Sind. The next important king, his grand-nephew Vatsarāja, is known to have been ruling in A.D. 783. He extended his kingdom upto Jodhpur, which proves that Gurjarātra was included in his kingdom. He defeated Dharmapāla, the Pāla ruler of Bengal, but himself suffered a reverse at the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruva III. His reign ended in *c*. A.D. 800. His son and successor, Nāgabhaṭa II, was defeated and deprived of his throne of Mālava by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III, and he thereafter established himself in Gurjarātra, which became for some time his home dominion. Later he took Kannauj from Cakrāyudha and shifted his capital there. After consolidating his position in Northern India he waged war against a number of kings. It is claimed that he seized the hill forts of the kings of Ānarta, Mālava, Kirāta, Turuṣka, Vatsa and Matsya, and that the chiefs of Andhra, Saindhava, Vidarbha and Kaliṅga felt the brunt of his sword.

The greatest king of the dynasty was his grandson Bhoja, who ascended the throne in or before A.D. 836 and assumed the titles Mihira and Ādivarāha. He defeated the Gauḍa king, apparently Devapāla, and pushed the boundary of his kingdom to the east. He also conquered Udīcyadeśa (Punjab), and extended his kingdom upto the Sindhu. A Cāhamāna family ruling in the region of Partābgarh submitted to him, but his attempt to conquer Lāṭa was frustrated by Dhruva II who belonged to a collateral branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Bhoja took up arms against the

Kalacuri king, Kokalla I of Ḍāhala, but was defeated. He died about A.D. 885 and was succeeded by his son Mahendrapāla I, who was deprived of his possession of West Punjab by king Śaṅkaravarman of Kashmīr. Mahendrapāla I, however, routed Nārāyaṇapāla of Bengal and annexed Magadha and Gauḍa to the kingdom, so that his empire stretched from Gujarāt to Bengal. But the fortunes of the Pratihāras did not long survive his death (c. A.D. 908).

Shortly after A.D. 915, his son Mahīpāla had to yield ground to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III, who crossed the Yamunā and sacked Kannauj. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa occupation of Kannauj was brief and Mahīpāla succeeded in re-establishing his authority over a large area of his kingdom. In the later part of his reign, before A.D. 940, Mahīpāla was again defeated by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas under their king Kṛṣṇā III. Mahīpāla was succeeded by his son Mahendrapāla II, during whose reign the disintegration of the Pratihāra kingdom began, and the Paramāra Vairisiṁha wrested Mālava. The Candellas, Cāhamānas of Śākambharī, Guhilas of Mewār and the Kacchapaghātas, who were once the vassals of the Pratihāras, became independent. In A.D. 1018, when Sulṭān Maḥmūd invaded Kannauj, Rājyapāla surrendered the city to the invader and retired to Bari on the other side of the Gaṅgā. Soon after Rājyapāla was killed by the Candella Vidyādhara.

Gahadavalas

A dynasty known as Gāhaḍavāla ruled in Kannauj from the third quarter of the 11th century. Candradeva, the first great ruler of the dynasty, established himself in Kannauj and made it his capital. He defeated the ruler of Pañcāla and was in possession of Ayodhyā and Vārānasi in addition to Kannauj and it is stated that he protected the holy places of Kuśika (Kannauj), Kāśī, Uttara Kosala (Ayodhyā) and Indrasthāna from the Muslims. He seems to have conquered the region from Allahābād to Varānasi from the Kalacuri Yaśaḥkarṇa and made the latter place his second capital. He was succeeded by his son Madanacandra, who was defeated and taken prisoner by 'Alāu'd-Daulah Mas'ūd III (A.D. 1099-1115), who invaded Kannauj.

Govindacandra, son of Madanacandra, defeated the Muslims and secured the release of his father. Govindacandra's kingdom extended in the east upto Dānāpur in Bihār. He was succeeded by his son Vijayacandra, whose son and successor Jayacandra suffered a defeat at the hand of the king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. In A.D. 1193, Mu'izzu'd-dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī invaded the kingdom of the Gāhaḍavālas and defeated and killed Jayacandra.

Kacchapaghatas

It is generally believed that the Kacchapaghātas were predecessors of the Kacchawāhā clan of the Rājpūt tribe, but there is no evidence to support it. In the latter part of the 10th century, Vajradāmana of the Kacchapaghāta family defeated the Pratihāras of Kannauj and established the supremacy of his family over Gwalior. His successors ruled Gwalior till A.D. 1196 when Quṭbu'd-dīn captured the city.

Candellas

The Candellas, who were also known as Candrātreyas, ruled the country of Bundelkhand. The dynasty had been founded by Nannuka in the early years of the 9th century, and his capital was Kharjuravāhaka, the modern village of Khajuraho in the erstwhile Chatarpur state, Madhya Pradesh. The first king of note was Harṣa who ruled from c. A.D. 900 to 925. Like his predecessors, Harṣa was a vassal of the Pratihāras. His son and successor, Yaśovarman, who reigned in the third quarter of the 10th century, conquered Kalañjara and extended his kingdom upto the Yamunā in the north. He fought successfully against the Paramāras and the Kalacuris and pushed the southern boundary of his state upto the borders of Mālava and Cedi. He came into conflict with the Gurjaras and successfully invaded Gauḍa and Mithilā then under Pāla rule. His son Dhaṅga succeeded him some time after A.D. 951.

Dhaṅga acknowledged the supremacy of the Pratihara king Vināyakapāla II at least up to A.D. 954, and his kingdom extended at this time as far as Kalañjara, Betwa river in Bhīlsa, border of

the Jabalpur district, Yamunā, and Gwalior. Some time before A.D. 977, he was deprived of his possession of Gwalior by the Kacchapaghāta Vajradāmana. In the latter part of the 10th century, he declared independence and wrested from the Pratihāras the eastern portion of their kingdom, including Vārānasi. He also raided Aṅga, Rāḍha, Kosala, Andhra, Kāñcī and Kuntala. He sent an army to help the Sāhī Jayapāla of the Punjab, who formed a confederacy of Indian chiefs to fight Amīr Sabuktigīn of Ghaznī, and shared defeat with the Sāhīs and others. He died at Prayāga shortly after A.D. 1002 at the age of one hundred years, and was succeeded by Gaṇḍa.

During the reign of Gaṇḍa's son, Vidyādhara, Maḥmūd of Ghaznī invaded Kalañjara, once in A.D. 1019 and again in A.D. 1022. He could not capture the fort and had to retire after establishing friendly relations with the ruler. In A.D. 1202, Quṭbu'd-dīn invested the fort of Kalañjara and the Candella king Paramardi sued for peace after a brief resistance. The king's minister, Ajayadeva, disapproving of his master's conduct, killed him and resumed resistance to the Muslims, but ultimately he had to surrender to them. Quṭbu'd-dīn took possession of Kalañjara and conquered Mahobā. Some time before A.D. 1205, Trailokyavarman, son of Paramardi, defeated the Muslims at Kakaḍādaha, south-east of Bedwara and recovered his kingdom.

Paramaras

There were several branches of the Paramāra dynasty. The main branch ruled in Mālava from the early years of the 9th century, with its capital at Dhārā. The kings of this dynasty were descended from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarchs of the Deccan. Shortly before A.D. 812, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III conquered Mālava by defeating the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II, and appointed one of his favourites to rule it. He was probably Upendra, the founder of the Paramāra dynasty in Mālava. Sīyaka II of this dynasty declared independence during the reign of Khoṭṭiga, successor of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III, inflicted a defeat on him on the bank of the Narmadā, and pursued him upto the Rāṣṭrakuṭa capital, Mānyakheṭa which he plundered in

A.D. 972. He had two sons, Muñja and Sindhurāja, the elder Muñja succeeded him before A.D. 974.

Muñja, also known as Utpala and Vākpatirāja II, was a great General and was regarded as one of the foremost kings of the age. On the east, he plundered Tripurī, capital of Ḍāhala, and forced its king, Kalacuri Yuvarāja II, to take to flight. On the north-east, he defeated the chief of Hūṇa-Maṇḍala, ravaged Āghaṭa, the capital of the Guhilas of Medapāṭa, and wrested Mount Abu and the southern part of the former Jodhpur state from the Cāhamāna Balirāja, though he failed to conquer his capital Nāḍol. Some of the conquered territories in Rājasthān were entrusted to the charge of princes of the royal family, who were founders of the Abu, Jālor and Bhīnmāl branches of the Paramāras. On the west, Muñja fought against the Caulukya Mūlarāja I of Aṇahilapāṭaka and forced him to flee to the desert of Mārwār. He also won a victory over the Caulukya Bārappa of Lāṭa, who was a General of the Cālukya Taila II of the Deccan. On the south, Taila II invaded Muñja's kingdom six times but was repulsed. Then Muñja set out on an expedition against the Deccan but was taken captive by his adversary and executed shortly after A.D. 993.

Muñja's nephew Bhoja was the greatest king of the Paramāra dynasty and an important political figure in the early medieval age. Bhoja challenged the Cālukya Jayasiṁha II as also his son and successor Someśvara I, who had plundered Dhārā, Ujjayinī and Māṇdu in Mālava and was now reduced to a miserable state. He successfully fought with the Śilāhāras, Cālukyas and Cāhamānas but suffered reverses from the Candella Vidyādhara, Kacchapaghāta Kīrtirāja of Gwalior and the Cāhamāna Aṇahilla of Nāḍol. In A.D. 1008, he sent an army to help the Śāhī Ānandapāla of the Punjab against Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, and in A.D. 1043, he joined a confederacy of the Hindu chiefs—after conquering the Muslim territories of Hansi, Thāneśvar and Nagarkot they besieged Lahore. He came in conflict with Caulukya Cāmuṇḍarāja, and his sons, Vallabharāja and Durlabharāja of Gujarāt, and plundered Aṇahilapāṭaka during the early part of the reign of Durlabharāja's successor Bhīma. Subsequently, when Bhoja became old, Bhīma in alliance with the Kalacuri Karṇa conquered Mālava. Bhoja died

of a malady in course of a battle and his adversaries took possession of his kingdom. Jayasiṁha I, who came to power by A.D. 1055, recovered Mālava with the help of the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI. Subsequently, the Cālukya Someśvara II of the Deccan who was hostile to his brother Vikramāditya VI, invaded Mālava in alliance with the Caulukya Karṇa, successor of Bhīma I, and defeated and killed Jayasiṁha in the battle, but was shortly afterwards repulsed by the Paramāra Udayāditya, who was a brother or cousin (*bhrātā*) of Bhoja. Udayāditya had two sons Lakṣmadeva and Naravarman, who ruled in succession after his death. Lakṣmadeva, who came to the throne after A.D. 1088, is said to have raided Gauḍa, Aṅga, Kaliṅga and Kīra, defeated the Kalacuri Yaśaḥkarṇa, and repulsed an attack of the Turuṣkas, identified with Maḥmūd, Governor of the Punjab. His nephew Yaśovarman had to surrender Mālava to Jayasiṁha-Siddharāja, the Caulukya king and it remained under the control of the Caulukyas for twenty years. About A.D. 1176–77, Vindhyavarman reconquered Mālava after defeating the Caulukya Mūlarāja II. Shortly after A.D. 1233, Iltutmish overran Mālava.

Caulukyas of Gujarat

There were three branches of the Caulukya family : one at Mattamayūra in the neighbourhood of Mālava, another in Gujarāt, and the third in Lāṭa. The branch in Gujarāt was founded by Mūlarāja I in Aṇahilapāṭaka about A.D. 942 after he had overthrown the Cāpas, who had ruled in the region from the middle of the 8th century. Mūlarāja defeated the Cāpa Dharaṇīvarāha of Vardhamānapura in Saurāṣṭra, Ābhira Graharipu of Vāmanasthalī, and Lākhā, chief of Kacchadeśa, and entered into a treaty with the Cāhamāna Vigraharāja I of Śākambharī, who overran his kingdom. He sent his son Cāmuṇḍarāja with an army against Bārappa of Lāṭa, who was killed in the battle. Though defeated by Paramāra Muñja and Kalacuri Lakṣmanarāja, Mūlarāja saved his kingdom and abdicated in favour of his son Cāmuṇḍarāja in *c.* A.D. 995.

During the reign of Mūlarāja's great grandson Bhīma I, in A.D.

1025, Maḥmūd Ghaznī overran Gujarāt and plundered Somanātha. Aṇahilapāṭaka was plundered by the Paramāra Bhoja during the early part of the reign of Bhīma, who avenged himself by conquering Mālava in alliance with the Kalacuri Karṇa in *c.* A.D. 1055. Bhīma's reign ended in A.D. 1064 and he was succeeded by his son Karṇa, who, in alliance with the Cālukya Someśvara II, conquered Mālava after destroying Jayasiṁha, successor of Bhoja, but was subsequently routed by the Paramāra Udyāditya. Karṇa's successor, Jayasiṁha, who was a minor at the time of his accession in A.D. 1094, assumed the title of Siddharāja. He won military success against the Ābhīras of Saurāṣṭra, Cāhamāna Āśārāja of Nāḍol, Cāhamāna Arṇorāja of Śakambharī, the Paramāra Naravarman and Yaśovarman of Mālava, Candella Madanavarman of Bundelkhand and the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI. Kumārapāla, who ascended the throne in about A.D. 1143 after the death of Jayasiṁha forced the Cāhamāna Arṇorāja to submit to him, and won victory over the Cāhamāna Rājyapāla of Nadol He dethroned the Paramāra Vikramasiṁha and placed Yaśodhavala on the throne of Mount Abu, annexed Mālava to his kingdom, and killed Mallikārjuna of Konkan in battle. Having come under the influence of the Jaina teacher Hemacandra, he embraced Jainism before A.D. 1164. He reformed the laws, and stopped gambling and other evil practices. After his death in A.D. 1172, his brother's son Ajayapāla ascended the throne. Ajayapāla died in about A.D. 1176 and was succeeded by his son Mūlarāja II, who was very young. Mūlarāja's mother Nāikīdevī, acting as regent, repulsed an attack of the Muslims, probably led by Mu'izzu'd-dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī, who invaded Gujarāt in A.D. 1178. Mūlarāja II died in A.D. 1178, and was succeeded by his younger brother Bhīma II. During the reign of Bhīma II the provincial governors strove for independence and there were successive foreign invasions which reduced him to the position of a titular king. Arṇorāja, a member of the Caulukya family, received as grant from Kumārapāla the village Vyāghrapalli (near Aṇahilapāṭaka), where he settled with his family. He and his successors are known as the Vāghelas, a contraction of the name of this village. He came forward to defend Bhīma's authority and lost his life in the attempt to put down the rebels. His son,

Lavaṇaprasāda, then came to Bhīma's help and assisted him in the administration. He repulsed attacks of the Paramāra Subhaṭavarman, Yādava Bhillama and Jaitugi, and some Mārwār chiefs, but could not resist Quṭbu'd-dīn, who, in A.D. 1197, plundered Aṇahilapāṭaka.

Cahamanas

There were several branches of the Cāhamānas, known in later time as the Cauhān Rājpūts, and the most important of them ruled in Śākambharīdeśa also known as Sapādalakṣa, the capital of which was Śākambharī, modern Sāmbhar in Rājasthan. The Cāhamāna rulers had been feudatories of the Pratihāras till Siṁharāja declared independence in the middle of the 10th century. His successor, Vigraharāja II, defeated Mūlarāja I and overran Gujarāt. Vigraharāja II was succeeded by a large number of kings, one after the other, and in the first quarter of the 12th century, Ajayarāja was on the throne of Śākambharī. Ajayarāja founded a city which was called after his name Ajayameru, modern Ajmer. His son Arṇorāja, who was crowned before A.D. 1139, repulsed an attack of the Turuṣkas but was routed by Jayasiṁha-Siddhrāja and Kumārapāla. Arṇorāja's son Vigraharāja IV, also called Vīsaladeva, extended his kingdom upto the Punjab, where he came into conflict with the Muslims. The next important king Pṛthvīrāja III began his reign in A.D. 1177.

Pṛthvīrāja III put down the revolt of Nāgārjuna, son of his uncle Vigraharāja IV, defeated the Candella Paramardi, and invaded the kingdom of the Caulukya Bhīma II of Gujarāt, who concluded a treaty with him. Then he had to turn his attention to the affairs in the Punjab where the Muslims were pressing hard on the kingdom of the Cāhamānas. On receipt of the news that the Muslims under Mu'izzu'd-dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī had forcibly occupied the fort of Tabarhindah in his kingdom, he marched with an army along with Govindarāja of Delhi and his general Skanda to the Punjab, and defeated Mu'izzu'd-dīn on the battlefield of Tarain near Thāneśvar (A.D. 1191). He regained Tabarhindah and reestablished his supremacy over all his possessions in the Punjab. In the following year, Mu'izzu'd-dīn came again to the

Punjab with a large army, captured Tabarhindah and confronted Pṛthvīrāja on the same battlefield of Tarain. Pṛthvīrāja was defeated, taken prisoner and executed. Having occupied Ajmer the Muslims returned to Ghaznī. After their departure, Harirāja, brother of Pṛthvīrāja, regained Ajmer before A.D. 1194, but had to surrender it to Quṭbu'd-dīn, General of Mu'izzu'd-dīn. Nothing more is known of Harirāja, and Ajmer was taken by the Muslims permanently.

A branch of the Cāhamānas ruled at Raṇathambhor whose kings claimed descent from Pṛthvīrāja III of Ajmer. The last king of this line Hammīra was a great General, who lost his life in a battle with 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī in A.D. 1301. The Tomaras ruled the Haryana country from their capital Dhillika (Delhi), and acknowledged the supremacy of the Pratihāra Bhoja I. They were overthrown by the Cāhamāna Vigraharāja IV of Ajmer in the middle of the 12th century, and Delhi was conquered by Muhammad Ghūrī after the second battle of Tarain

Guhilas of Mewar

The Guhila dynasty was founded by Guhadatta in the middle of the 6th century, and Khommāṇa, also known as Kālabhoja, his remote descendant, flourished in the first half of the 8th century. Bappā, who heads the genealogical list of the family in the records dating from the 13th century and is stated to have been a famous king, has been identified with Khommāṇa. This dynasty of petty chiefs ruled in Mewār and its capital was Nāgahrada, which was transferred to Āghāṭa in the 10th century. The Guhilas possessed considerable political power during the reign of Jaitrasiṁha, in the first half of the 13th century, when Citrakūṭa or Chitor was for the first time included in the kingdom of Mewār.

Kashmir

The Kārkoṭa dynasty, founded by Durlabhavardhana in *c.* A.D. 627 in Kashmīr, played an important role in the history of this period. Durlabhavardhana's grandson Candrāpīḍa, who ascended

the throne in A.D. 713 had friendly relations with the Chinese emperor and earned renown by repulsing an invasion of the Arabs. He was succeeded by his younger brothers—first Tārāpīḍa, then Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, the greatest king of the dynasty. Lalitāditya in alliance with Yaśovarman of Kannauj defeated the Tibetans, but later he quarrelled with his ally and wrested his kingdom which extended upto the eastern coast. He repulsed an attack of the Arabs and won victories over the Kāmbojas, Dards, and the Turks and overran the whole of Northern India. He sent a mission to China, probably seeking assistance against the Tibetans. He died in A.D. 760 and was succeeded by a number of kings, one after the other, the last of whom was dethroned in A.D. 855 by Avantivarman.

Avantivarman, founder of the Utpala dynasty, carried out constructive work in his kingdom with the assistance of his minister Suyya. His reign closed in A.D. 883 and he was succeeded by his son Śaṅkaravarman who conquered Dārvābhisāra. Śaṅkaravarman challenged Lalliya Sāhī of Udabhanda (Ohind) but met with failure. He died before *c.* A.D. 902 under tragic circumstances and was succeeded by several kings, during whose reign the Tantrin infantry and the Ḍāmaras (feudal lords) usurped great power. At last, a Brāhmaṇa named Yaśaskara was selected as king by an assembly of the Brāhmaṇas in A.D. 939. His son was killed by his designing minister Parvagupta who ruled for about a year and was succeeded by his son Kṣemagupta in A.D. 950. Kṣemagupta's queen Diddā, daughter of the Khasa Siṁharāja, king of Lohāra, was a woman of evil propensity and dominated Kashmīr politics in the second half of the 10th century. After the death of her husband who was followed by several kings, she became the *de facto* ruler and in A.D. 980 she ascended the throne. She died in A.D. 1003, having entrusted the sovereignty to Saṁgrāmarāja, son of her brother Udayarāja of Lohāra.

Saṁgrāmarāja, founder of the Lohāra dynasty in Kashmīr, repulsed several attacks of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī and sent his minister Tuṅga to help the Sāhī Trilocanapāla against the Muslim invader. A number of other kings followed; the last of them, Harṣa, was a man of learning; he introduced the custom of

putting on head-dress and ear-rings in Kashmīr. In A.D. 1101, Harṣa was overthrown by the two brothers Ucchala and Sussala, who belonged to a collateral branch of the Lohāra dynasty.

Ucchala, founder of the second Lohāra dynasty in Kashmīr, made his brother Sussala an independent ruler of Lohāra. After Ucchala's death, Sussala captured the throne of Kashmīr with the help of the Ḍāmaras in A.D. 1112. The last king of this line was Vantideva (A.D. 1165-72) and after his death the people placed one Vuppadeva on the throne.

Arabs of Sind and the Turkish Invasions

In A.D. 712, Muḥammad Ibn-Qāsim defeated and killed Dāhar king of Sind, and took possession of his capital Alor. The conquest of Sind by the Muslims was completed in the following year by the capture of Multān. The Arab army was posted in the important cities, but the countryside remained under the control of Hullishah (Jaisiṁha), son of Dāhar, and other chiefs, who assumed more power when Muhammad Qāsim was removed from the Governorship in A.D. 715. Sind was ruled by the Governors appointed by the Caliphs. Junaid, Governor of Sind under the Caliph Ḥishām (A.D. 724-743), strengthened his position by defeating Hullishah and then led an expedition against Rājputānā (Rājasthān) and Western India for the expansion of the Muslim kingdom, but was repulsed by Pulakeśin Avanijanāśraya of Lāṭa and the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa I of Mālava. The Governors of Sind during the decline of the power of the Abbasids in the first half of the 9th century, assumed more authority and the successors of the Governor Mūsā ruled the country virtually as independent chiefs. Sind formed a part of the dominion of the Saffarids from A.D. 872 to 903. After the downfall of the Saffarids, Sind was divided into two independent states, with their capitals at Mansūrah and Multān respectively. Maḥmūd Ghaznī annexed Multān to his dominion but could not maintain his effective control over Mansūrah which also he had captured. Shortly after the death of Maḥmūd, the Sūmra dynasty began to rule in the lower Indus valley as independent chiefs. In A.D.

1175, it submitted to Mu'izzu'd-dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī and acknowledged the nominal sway of the Sulṭān of Delhi.

Muslim Conquest

Sabuktigīn, a General of Alptigīn, founded the Yamīnī dynasty in Ghaznī in A.D. 977. He defeated the Śāhī Jayapāls of the Punjab and extended his kingdom upto Peshāwar. He died in A.D. 997 and his son Maḥmūd ascended the throne in the following year after having routed his brother Ism'āīl. Maḥmūd wrested the Punjab from the Śāhīs and annexed it to his dominion. He invaded and plundered Thāneśvar, Mathurā, Kannauj, Gwalior and Somanātha in Gujarāt, and acquired vast treasures. He died in A.D. 1030 and his successors ruled the Punjab through their Governors. Shortly after A.D. 1157, Sulṭān Khusraw Shāh, driven out from Ghaznī by the Ghuzz Turks, fled to the Punjab and established himself there. His son and successor, Khusraw Malik, the last Sulṭān of the family, was deprived of his sovereignty of the Punjab by Mu'izzu'd-dīn Muhammad of Ghūr in A.D. 1186.

Ghurids

Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Muḥammad, nephew of 'Alāu'd-dīn Ḥusain, became the Sulṭān of Ghūr in A.D. 1163. He defeated the Ghuzz Turks in A.D. 1173 and placed Ghaznī under his brother Mu'izzu'd-dīn Muḥammad. Having taken the Punjab from the Ghaznavid Khusraw Malik, Mu'izzu'd-dīn defeated and killed Cāhamāna Pṛthvīrāja III and the Gāhaḍavāla Jayacandra and conquered a large part of North India. Mu'izzu'd-dīn was assassinated by an unknown enemy and his General Quṭbu'd-dīn declared himself Sulṭān at Delhi in A.D. 1206.

Deccan: Rastrakutas

Dantidurga of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, who was a *Mahāsāmanta* under the Cālukya Vikramāditya II, defeated the latter's son and successor Kīrtivarman II before A.D. 753 and wrested from him the greater portion of the Deccan. He was succeeded about

A.D. 756 by his uncle Kṛṣṇa I, who gave a final blow to the power of Kīrtivarman II, attacked the Gaṅgas of Karnataka and forced the Cālukya Viṣṇuvardhana IV of Veṅgī to acknowledge his supremacy. His reign ended between A.D. 772 and 775. His son Govinda II was dethroned by his younger brother Dhruva shortly about A.D. 780. Dhruva led successful campaigns in North India against the Pālas and the Pratihāras. On the south, he annexed the whole of Gaṅgavāḍi to his kingdom, forced the Pallava Dantivarman to yield to him and humbled Viṣṇuvardhana IV of Veṅgī. His successor Govinda III (A.D. 792) also made an incursion into North India and fought successfully against the Pāla Dharmapāla and his protege Cakrāyudha, and having wrested Mālava from the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II, he assigned its rule to one of his officials, Upendra of the Paramāra dynasty. He repulsed an attack of a confederacy of the Pallava, Kerala, Pāṇḍya and Gaṅga rulers. His son Amoghavarṣa I, who came into power in A.D. 814 fought long-drawn battles with the Eastern Cālukyas and the Gaṅgas. Amoghavarṣa was a poet and he patronized men of letters, such as, Jinasena and Śākaṭāyana. He built the city of Mānyakheṭa, modern Mālkhed (145 km. south-east of Sholāpur) where the old capital was shifted, possibly from Mayūrakhiṇḍi. His son Kṛṣṇa II fought successfully against the Pratihāra Bhoja but could not resist Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III of Veṅgī, who overran the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom. Kṛṣṇa II occupied Āndhra after the death of Vijayāditya III but was driven out by the latter's son, Cālukya Bhīma I. After his death in A.D. 915, his grandson Indra III, whose father Jagattuṅga had predeceased him, came to the throne. Indra III defeated the Pratihāra Mahīpāla I, plundered Kannauj, and challenged the Eastern Cālukyas. Kṛṣṇa III wrested Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam from the Coḷa Parāntaka who continued the struggle for the recapture of the lost territory. In a battle fought at Takkolam, the Coḷa Crown Prince, Rājāditya lost his life. Kṛṣṇa III, fourth in succession from Indra III, thereafter overran the Coḷa country and reached Rāmeśvaram (Rāmeswaram). He helped the Eastern Cālukya Bādapa to capture the throne of Veṅgī from Amma II. He was one of the most powerful kings of the dynasty, and ruled over wider territories than his immediate predecessors. He

was succeeded in A.D. 967 by his younger brother Khoṭṭiga who was a weak ruler. The Paramāra Sīyaka II declared independence, inflicted defeat on Khoṭṭiga on the bank of the Narmadā, and plundered Mānyakheta in A.D. 972-973. Khoṭṭiga was succeeded in that year by his nephew Karka II, who was overthrown by the Cālukya Taila II in the following year.

Calukyas of Kalyana

Taila II, who reestablished the supremacy of the Cālukyas over the Deccan extended the boundary of his kingdom upto North Mysore, defeating the Gaṅgas, and fought successfully against Uttamacoḷa, king of Thanjāvūr. On the north, he conquered Lāṭa and appointed his General, the Caulukya Bārappa, as its ruler. Taila fought a protracted war with the Paramāra Muñja of Mālava, eventually defeated him, took him prisoner, and executed him in his capital. There was a protracted struggle between the Cālukyas and the Coḷas. The Cālukya Someśvara I had to meet two attacks of the Coḷa Rājādhirāja who plundered Kalyāṇa, the Cālukya capital. In A.D. 1053-1054, Rājādhiraja, the Coḷa king invaded the Deccan for the third time but was killed in the battlefield of Koppam. At this critical time, his brother Rājendra II took over the command and defeated the enemies. It is claimed by the Cālukyas that Someśvara I plundered Kāñcī after defeating the Coḷas. He suffered heavily at the hands of Rājendra II's successor Virarājendra at Kūḍal-Śaṅgam, but his son Vikramāditya VI, still a *yuvarāja*, routed the Coḷa king before A.D. 1067 and plundered his capital Gaṅgaikoṇḍa. Someśvara's military campaigns in other directions met with conspicuous success. His victories ranged over the Caulukya Bhīma I, Paramāra Bhoja, Kalacuri Karṇa of Ḍāhala, and Vajrahasta V of Kaliṅga, and the rulers of Kosala, Lāta and Kerala. He also put down the revolt of the Yādavas of Seuna-deśa. His son Vikramāditya VI led his army to Bengal. He granted Anmakoṇḍaviṣaya, modern Warangal, to his General, the Kākatīya Prola, in recognition of his military service. He was succeeded in A.D. 1068 by his eldest son Someśvara II, who in alliance with the Caulukya Karṇa invaded Mālava and killed the Paramāra Jayasiṁha I. In A.D. 1076,

Vikramāditya VI imprisoned Someśvara II and ascended the throne. He fought against the Colas for a long time for supremacy over Āndhra and succeeded in the later part of his reign in annexing it to his dominion. He put down the revolt of the Hoysalas of Dorasamudra, Kadambas of Goa and the Yādavas of Seuna-deśa. Crossing the Narmadā, he plundered Lāṭa and Gujarāt. In A.D. 1083, he sent an embassy to the court of Vajrabāhu, king of Ceylon, and his court was graced by the Kashmīrī poet Bilhaṇa, author of the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, and Vijñāneśvara, author of *Mitākṣarā*. He founded an era, known as Cālukya-Vikrama era, the initial year of which is A.D. 1076. His grandson Taila III made an effort to put down the revolt of the Kākatīyas of Warangal but was taken prisoner. Though he was released, the incident impaired the prestige of the Cālukyas. Taking advantage of the situation, the feudatory Bijjala of the Kalacuri dynasty became the *de facto* ruler of the country, while acknowledging the nominal supremacy of Taila III till the latter's death in A.D. 1163.

Kalacuris of Kalyana

Bijjala, usurper of the Deccan throne (A.D. 1157), had to surrender the larger portion of the Deccan including Kalyāṇa to Someśvara IV, son of Taila III, in A.D. 1183. Though defeated by Yādava Bhillama in A.D. 1189, Someśvara continued to rule till A.D. 1200.

Yadavas of Devagiri

Bhillama founded the city of Devagiri which began to serve as the State capital. His son Jaitugi, who succeeded him, fought against the Mālavas, Gurjaras, and Kulottuṅgacola III of the south, and killed the Kākatīya Mahādeva of Warangal. Jaitugi's son, Siṅghana, who came to the throne in *c.* A.D. 1200, was the greatest ruler of the dynasty and made extensive conquests both in the north and the south, but these took place after A.D. 1206.

Hoysalas of Dorasamudra

Nṛpakama, the founder of the Hoysala dynasty, who flourished

in the middle of the 11th century, was a petty chieftain in Śaśakapura. His son Vinayāditya ruled Gaṅgavāḍi from his capital Dorasamudra as a feudatory of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa. Vinayāditya's successors continued to acknowledge Cālukya supremacy but king Ballāla II of this dynasty declared his independence in or shortly after A.D. 1189 when the Cālukya Someśvara IV was overthrown by the Yādava Bhillama V, and ruled till A.D. 1220.

Kakatiyas of Warangal

The earliest known chief of the Kākatīya dynasty, Beta I, a Śūdra by caste, ruled in the Nalgonda district (Andhra Pradesh) in the first half of the 11th century. His son and successor, Prola I, acknowledged the supremacy of the Cālukya Someśvara I of Kalyāṇa who granted him permanently Anmakoṇḍaviṣaya in the Warangal Taluk (Andhra Pradesh). Prola was succeeded by his son Beta II, who received Sabbisayira in the Karīmnagar district from the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI. The early chiefs of the Kākatīya dynasty were feudatories of the Cālukyas. One of them, Prola II, fought with the feudatories of the Cālukyas and this made Cālukya Taila III invade the territory of the Kākatīyas. But Taila was taken prisoner by Prola, who released him subsequently. Prola II's son and successor, Rudra I, inflicted the final blow on Taila III and declared independence before A.D. 1162. Some time before A.D. 1185 Rudra expanded his kingdom, wresting Kurnool district, in Andhra Pradesh, from the Colas. He constructed many temples and buildings in the city of Orungallu (Warangal), which rose to importance about this time. Rudra was killed in battle with the Yādava Jaitugi in A.D. 1196 and was succeeded by his brother Mahādeva who died in A.D. 1199. Jaitugi also took Gaṇapati, son of Mahādeva, prisoner in A.D. 1196 but released him and installed him on his paternal throne in A.D. 1199. Gaṇapati conquered the Āndhra country and transferred his capital to Orungallu, and abolished oppressive taxes on foreigners.

Eastern Calukyas

Mention has been made above of the foundation of the king-

dom of Veṅgī in the Eastern Deccan by Viṣṇuvardhana, a brother of the Cālukya king Pulakeśin II. This family came to be known as the Eastern Cālukyas. Their history was uneventful except for frequent conflicts with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas after they had overthrown the main Cālukya family of Bādāmi and the consequent domestic troubles and civil war. Vimalāditya who ascended the throne in A.D. 1011 submitted to Coḷa Rājarāja, and thenceforward ruled as a protege of the Coḷas. Vimalāditya was succeeded by his son Rājarāja in A.D. 1018. Rājarāja married the daughter of Rājendracoḷa I, who gave birth to his son Rājendracoḷa II, who bore the name Kulottuṅgacoḷa after his accession to the throne and annexed Āndhra to his dominion.

South India: Pallavas of Kanci

Pallava power declined after Nandivarman II. His son Dantivarman, who came to power about A.D. 796, had to face the invasion of the Rāṣṭrakuṭas and the Pāṇḍyas. Dantivarman was succeeded, one after the other, by Nandivarman III, Nṛpatuṅgavarman and Aparājita. The last-named king was overthrown by Ādityacoḷa about A.D. 903. The imperial line of the Pallavas ended with Aparājita, but some minor branches ruled in Nolambapāḍi.

Colas

Vijayālaya, the founder of the imperial Coḷa dynasty, was in the early part of his life a feudatory of the Pallavas of Kāñcī. About the middle of the 9th century, he made himself master of Thanjāvūr when the Pallavas were hard pressed by the Pāṇḍyas in the Kāverī region. His son, Ādityacoḷa I, overthrew the Pallava Aparājita about A.D. 903 and asserted his supremacy over the greater portion of the kingdom of the Pallavas along with Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. Ādityacoḷa's successor, Parāntaka I (A.D. 907–955), captured Madurai, defeating the Pāṇḍya Rājasiṁha, but he was routed by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III at the battle of Takkolam. His son Rājaditya lost his life in the battle and he had to surrender Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam to his adversary. His grandson Sundaracoḷa, also known as Parāntaka II (A.D. 957–973), wrested

Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam from the Raṣṭrakuṭas and fought a battle with the Pāṇḍyas.

Rājarāja I, the son of Parāntaka II, who ascended the throne in A.D. 985 was a great General. He defeated the Cera navy at Kāndalūrśālai and conquered Veṅgī, Gaṅgavāḍi, Nolambapāḍi, Koṭṭam, Kaliṅga, Irattapāḍi (Deccan), Ilamaṇḍala (Ceylon) and the Maldive Islands. Rājarāja, who was an administrator of great ability, encouraged the establishment of local self-government in his kingdom and surveyed the land. He built the great temple of Rājarājeśvara at Thanjāvūr, a magnificent piece of architecture in South Indian style. He granted a village for the maintenance of a Buddhist *Vihāra,* built by a king of the Śailendra dynasty at Nāgapaṭṭana. His son Rājendracoḷa I, who was formally installed as *yuvarāja* in A.D. 1012, made extensive conquests: Madurai, Ceylon, Deccan, Ādinagara, Orissa, Rāḍha and Vaṅga and won victory over the Pāla king Mahīpāla. With his naval forces, he invaded Malay Peninsula and the Malay Archipelago and overran Kadaram (Kedah near Penang), Śrīvijaya (Sumatra), Nicobar Islands and many other places. He was succeeded in A.D. 1044 by his son Rājādhirāja, who put down the hostile forces in Ceylon, but lost his life in about A.D. 1053–54, in a battle with the Cālukya Someśvara I at Koppam. His brother Rājendra II was anointed king in the battlefield and the Coḷas won victory on that occasion under his leadership. Rājendra II was succeeded in A.D. 1063 by his brother Vīrarājendra who had to fight against the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI in order to maintain supremacy over the Āndhra country. Subsequently, he gave his daughter in marriage to Vikramāditya VI and established friendly relations with him. He put down a revolt in Ceylon and conquered Kadaram. He was succeeded in A.D. 1070 by his young son Adhirājendra, who lost his life in a general revolt soon after his accession. Then Rājendracoḷa II, son of Rājarāja of the Eastern Cālukya dynasty of Āndhra, ascended the throne of the Coḷas. Rājendracoḷa II assumed the name Kulottuṅgacoḷa, and he and his successors preferred to call themselves Coḷas though they were Cālukyas by birth. He annexed Āndhra to his kingdom in A.D. 1076, and sent princes of the royal family there as viceroys. He put down revolts in Ceylon and claimed to have conquered Kadaram. In

A.D. 1090, at the request of the king of Kadaram, he exempted the villages granted to the Buddhist *Vihāras* at the Nāgapaṭṭana from the payment of royal dues. He fought a number of battles with Vikramāditya VI, who, in the closing years of his reign, annexed Āndhra to his dominion. Kulottuṅga conquered North Kaliṅga, defeating the Gaṅgas. In A.D. 1118, he was succeeded by Vikramacoḷa though his father continued to live four year longer and next came Kulottuṅgacoḷa II. During the reign of Rājarāja II, the successor of Kulottuṅgacoḷa II, the central power of the Coḷas weakened and the Hoysalas took possession of the northern part of their kingdom. Rājarāja II's successor, Rājādhirāja II, ascended the throne in A.D. 1173, and during his reign Āndhra was taken over by the Kalacuris of Kalyāṇa. Rājādhirāja II was succeeded by Kulottuṅgacoḷa III, who was again succeeded by Rājarāja III in A.D. 1218. The reign of Rājarāja III saw further deterioration of Coḷa power. At this time Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya burnt Thanjāvūr but allowed the Coḷa monarch to rule. Kopperuñjiṅga of Sendamaṅgalam, a feudatory of the Coḷas, took Rājarāja III prisoner but was forced by the Hoysala Narasiṁha II to release him. Rājarāja III was now reduced to the position of a titular king and the Hoysalas became the *de facto* rulers of the country. Rājarāja III was succeeded in A.D. 1256 by Rājendracoḷa III, who fought against the Hoysalas and the Kākatīyas and reduced their authority temporarily. They regained their power soon and struggled along with the Pāṇḍyas for supremacy over the Coḷa domain. In the contest Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya gained the upper hand and asserted his mastery over the Coḷa country which was finally annexed to the Pāṇḍya kingdom by his successor, Māravarman Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya. The imperial rule of the Coḷas thus came to an end. The last known date of Rājendracoḷa III is A.D. 1279.

Pandyas of Madurai

Māravarman Rājasiṁha I, the son and successor of Koccaḍaiyan, ruled from A.D. 730 to 765. He fought a number of battles with the Pallava Nandivarman near Thanjāvūr and conquered Koṅgu-deśa. He also defeated Cālukya Kīrtivarman II in a big

battle at Veṇbai. His successor, Neḍuñjaḍaiyan (*c*. A.D. 765–815) made numerous conquests which gave him mastery over Thanjāvūr, Tiruchirāpalli, Salem, Coimbatore and South Travancore. The next ruler Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha, repulsed an attack of the confederacy of the Gaṅgas, Pallavas and Coḷas, but was routed by the Pallava Nandivarman III and Nṛpatuṅgavarman II. Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha's successor Varaguṇavarman II (*c*. A.D. 862–80), was decisively defeated by Pallava Aparājita, which greatly crippled the power of the Pāṇḍyas. Varaguṇavarman II was succeeded by Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa, (A.D. 860–905) and Māravarman Rājasiṁha II (*c*. A.D. 905–20) came next. He was forced to surrender his crown to the Coḷa Parāntaka I and leave his motherland. This put an end to the first empire of the Pāṇḍyas.

The Pāṇḍyas raised their head again after the battle of Takkolam (A.D. 949) in which Parāntaka I suffered heavily. Coḷa Rājarāja, the Great, brought the Pāṇḍya country under his control and its administration was conducted by the Coḷa viceroys. The Pāṇḍya princes gave them trouble from time to time and became powerful during the reign of Coḷa Adhirājendra, but Kulottuṅga succeeded in bringing them under control. In *c*. A.D. 1166, civil war broke out in the Pāṇḍya country between Parākrama Pāṇḍya and Kulaśekhara for the throne. Kulottuṅgacoḷa III ultimately succeeded in placing Vikrama Pāṇḍya, a relation of Kulaśekhara on the throne of the Pāṇḍyas. After Vikrama Pāṇḍya, the Pāṇḍya throne was occupied by Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara Rājagambhīradeva (A.D. 1190–1216), who was succeeded by Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1216–38).

Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, who is regarded as the founder of the second Pāṇḍya empire, overran the Coḷa country, burnt Thanjāvūr and forced Coḷa Rājarāja III and his feudatory Kopperuñjiṅga of Śendamaṅgalam to flee. Subsequently, he allowed Rājarāja III to rule over his territory. He was succeeded by Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II (*c*. A.D. 1238–51), and Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (*c*. A.D. 1251–68) came next. Jaṭāvarman forced Rajendracoḷa III to acknowledge his supremacy, defeated Kopperuñjiṅga of Śendamaṅgalam, but allowed him to retain power as a vassal, seized Kāñcī and reached Nellore after defeating the Kākatīya Ganapati. He defeated the Hoysalas whose

king Someśvara lost his life in the battle. He invaded Ceylon and conquered the northern portion of it. These extensive conquests made him master of the vast region from North Ceylon to Nellore. He beautified the temples at Śrīraṅgam and Chidambaram with gold and other riches. His successor Māravarman Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya (c. A.D. 1268-1309) finally annexed the Coḷa country to his dominion.

12

History of Political and Cultural Expansion

THE SPREAD OF Indian culture was an intellectual conquest through peaceful means. It was, to start with, generally a one-way traffic. While many travellers, especially from China, came to India, there never was any attempt on their part to indoctrinate Indians in the philosophy of Confucius or of any other Chinese thinker. On the other hand, Buddhism secured a footing in China as early as the 1st century A.D. Enterprising merchants, adventurous young princes, and scholars like Kumārajīva, Kaśyapa Mātaṅga, Padmasambhava and others undertook this task in a selfless spirit. There is, however, no doubt that later India also imbibed foreign culture.

Political expansion in South East Asia was motivated partly by a desire on the part of enterprising princes driven by misfortune to find new homes and kingdoms for themselves and partly to spread Indian culture. A few adventurous men like Kauṇḍinya settled down in the kingdoms explored by them, where they were accepted by the local population as their rulers. These kingdoms also became the repositories of Indian culture in the medieval period when India itself was engulfed in political turmoils. They were not Indian colonies but independent states with little political contact with the motherland. The long war between the Coḷas and the Śailendras is a pointer in this direction. In the Western and Central Asian spheres, there was contact and possible influence in the field of religion and philosophy; at the other end in South East Asia it was complete Indianization of the region. Rulers professing Hinduism or Buddhism set up a socio-political structure on the ancient Indian model and patronized Indian learning, art and architecture. Indian culture dominated in every sphere, although the rulers considered themselves as part and parcel of the indigenous soil. Later on, it was

completely submerged in the local culture. This development covers more than a thousand years

India and Sri Lanka

The earliest historical tradition in Sri Lanka connected with India was the landing of prince Vijaya with seven hundred followers in that island—the first phase of Indian settlement in that pear-shaped island, according to the *Mahāvaṁśa*. Its probable date is about 500 B.C. Political relations between the two countries commenced at the time of Aśoka with the arrival of Mahendra and Saṅghmitrā who were received by king Devānāmpiya Tissa. Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (*c.* 101–77 B.C. or 161–137 B.C.) invited *Therās* from different parts of India. Monks of Sri Lanka also visited India. In the time of Samudragupta, King Śrīmeghavarṇa (*c.* A.D. 352–79) sent an envoy with gifts to secure the permission of the Gupta monarch to build a monastery at Buddha Gayā for the residence of Buddhist monks from Sri Lanka. This was readily granted. Sri Lanka's relations with South India, though often strained in the political field, were cordial in other spheres. The Coḷa rule in Sri Lanka (Ceylon) from *c.* A.D. 992–93 during the reign of Rājarāja (A.D. 985–1016) was noted for the spread of Hinduism in that island. In the days of Parākramabāhu I (*c.* A.D. 1153–86), the Siṁhalese fought against the Coḷas as they supported rival candidates for the Pāṇḍya throne, and captured Rāmeśvaram and Madurai, but it was a short-lived victory. Pāṇḍyan and Vijayanagar influence continued in Sri Lanka from 13th to the 16th century A.D., and was notable for the establishment of a Tamil kingdom in the north, followed by more than three centuries of foreign rule. Indian cultural influence in the island is traceable in the realms of language, literature, art and architecture ; and Buddhism continues to this day to be the binding force.

Early Settlements in Burma, Thailand and Malaya

The march of Indian culture in South East Asia was the outcome of the thirst for reaching the eastern El Dorado—Kanaka-

purī—the land of gold. Merchants and adventurous or banished princes, seeking to try their luck in the unknown land, embarked either at the ports of Tāmralipti and Paloura or took the land route through dense forests and mountains noticed by the Chinese traveller, Kia-Tan, and also mentioned in Burmese chronicles.

Sri Ksetra

The early history of Burma is shrouded in mystery, but Indians had probably settled in that country since the beginning of the Christian era. The Hinduized Pyus tribe founded the kingdom of Śrīkṣetra (modern Hmawza, old Prome), and their rule lasted till about the 9th century A.D. Excavations at the ancient site of Śrīkṣetra have brought to light terracotta votive tablets, inscriptions, sculptures and ruins of old buildings. The terracotta tablets, some hundreds from a single mound, contain the figure of the Buddha and scenes from his life and the well-known Buddhist formula, *ye dharma hetuprabhāva*, etc., and sometimes short extracts from the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. The inscriptions are in Sanskrit, Pāli and the forgotten language of the Pyus, but in a script similar to the South Indian Pallava-Grantha. Numerous figures of the Buddha in stone, bronze and terracotta have also come to light (A.D. 600–800) and these are all in Indian style. The remnants of the ruined *stūpas* at Hmawza also show the common Indian form.

Abhiraja

Tradition has it that Abhirāja, a prince of the Śākya clan of Kapilavastu, founded the city of Sankissa on the upper Irrawaddy from where he ruled as king. Later Aniruddha (A.D. 1044–77) brought about the political unification of Burma. He married a Vaiśālī princess, and their son Kyanzittha was crowned in *c.* A.D. 1084. He repaired the Buddha Gaya temple and married a Coḷa princess. Both he and his successor maintained close relations with India. The Mongol invasion in the last quarter of the 13th century spelt political disintegration in Burma.

Indian Colonies in Thailand and Malaya

Thailand and Malaya were colonized by the Indians from the north as well as from the south. Ships touched at Takua Pa in the Malaya Peninsula which was a transit centre for a short cut to Caiya on the Bay of Bandon. Archaeological finds all around bear testimony to the ancient Indian colony. Another port of disembarkation was Tavoy from where travellers could proceed to the Menam delta. The inscriptions from Malaya include those of the famous sailor Buddhagupta found in the north-west of Wellesley province. King Viṣṇu of the Ligor inscription and Viṣṇuvarman of the Perak seal were probably the same person—an early ruler of Malaya. According to a Chinese chronicle, five hundred families of Hu, probably a mercantile class, two hundred Buddhists and more than a thousand Brāhmaṇas of India lived at Tuen-siun in Malaya. Another inscription of the 3rd century A.D. refers to a kingdom called Lin-yang, while Lang-Kia-su is noticed in the *History of the Liang Dynasty*. The former was supposed to be in Central Burma, the latter in Malaya Peninsula was founded about the 2nd century A.D. A ruler named Bhagadatta sent his ambassador Āditya to China in A.D. 515. The Hindu settlement at Pa-hoang welcomed Brāhmaṇas from India and had contacts with China in the 5th century A.D. It is identified with Pahang, and its ruler was Śrī Bālavarma. Kan-to-li was another Hindu settlement in the Malaya Peninsula besides many others flourishing in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. Nakhon Sri Dhammarat (Ligor) with its great *stūpa* surrounded by a large number of temples was a Buddhist settlement of that period. Other Indian settlements in this region were those of Dvāravatī and Haripuñjaya in Thailand.

Fu-nan

Archaeological finds in places like Sa-huynh in Annam, Samrong-seu in Cambodia, Oc-Eo in Cochin-China and Sempaga in the island of Celebes (Sulawesi) suggest a sudden change from the Neolithic to the Hindu culture with the arrival of Indian immigrants, either directly from India or through Burma and

Malaya. The oldest Hindu kingdom established in the lower valley of the Mekong, the area now included in the Indo-China peninsula—was known as Fu-nan, with its capital at Vyādhapura, probably near Ba Phnom. According to the tradition recorded in inscriptions, it was founded in the 1st century B.C. by a Brāhmaṇa named Kauṇḍinya from India who defeated and married the Nāgī princess Somā of that place. The second Kauṇḍinya—again a Brāhmaṇa from India—reached the place through Pan-pan (Bandon) and was elected king by the people, thus marking the next stage of Indian colonization. Hinduism took deep root in that country and the rulers bore Indian names and followed Indian religion. The Brahmanical hierarchy was a notable feature in the social order.

Kambuja

Fu-nan lost its importance and was merged in the famous kingdom of Kambuja (Kampuchea) named after Kambu-Svāyambhuva, occupying the territory around Vat Phu hill near Bassac in Laos, in the north-east corner of Kampuchea. By about the 6th century A.D., king Bhavavarman founded a new royal family, consolidating his hold over the kingdom of Kambuja and Fu-nan. His successors ruled for a very long time. The later history is that of the empire of Kambuja extending over a period of more than five centuries.

Campa

The Hinduized kingdom of Campā in the centre of the southern part of Annam was founded at the close of the 2nd century A.D. The kingdom of Siang-lin founded by Kiu-lien in A.D. 192, according to the Chinese Annals, was the nucleus of the Hindu kingdom of Campā. The famous Vo-chanh inscription (near Nha Trang in the province of Khanh-Hoa in South Vietnam), composed in Sanskrit and written in an Indian script of about the 2nd century A.D., refers to the royal family of Śrī Māra who might have been the first historical king, if not the founder of the Hindu dynasty. By the 4th century A.D., Śrī Bhadravarman, identi-

fied with Fan-Hu-ta, built the temple of Śiva at Myson, naming the deity after him, Śrī Bhadreśvarasvāmin. Hindu dynasties and religion (both Hinduism and Buddhism) and Sanskrit language flourished for a long time despite the proximity to and clash with Tonkin then under Chinese occupation. From Śrī-Māra of the Vo-canh record to Prakāśadharma Vikrāntavarman in the 7th century A.D., the history of Campā is one of incessant struggles against China. This ruler of Campā was related on his mother's side with the Kambuja royal family. In the last phase of Campā's history, the country came into clash with the Annamites and Kambuja. It also offered strong resistance to Kublai Khān, the great Mongol chief. The struggle against the Annamites was a prolonged one, causing loss of territory. A portion of the northern tip passed into enemy hands; and the desire for an Annamite princess cost Jayasiṁhavarman IV two provinces—this event happened in the 14th century. Campā finally fell before the Annamite onslaught, loosing Amarāvatī. in A.D. 1402 and Vijaya, in the centre, in 1471. It was thus reduced to a small principality, which was also gone with the ruler seeking refuge in Kambuja.

Early Kingdoms in Indonesia

The Indonesian archipelago containing nearly three thousand islands also came under the influence of Hindu culture. The name Yavadvīpa, very probably Java, occurs in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. The four rock-cut inscriptions found around Jakarta refer to a king named Pūrṇavarman whose capital was the city of Tārumā. His father, Rājādhirāja, constructed a canal named Candrabhāgā, connecting the royal city with the sea, and another named Gomatī. The Indo-Javanese phase of history in Central Java dates from the 8th century A.D. The Hindus set up kingdoms in Central and Eastern Java, as is evident from the numerous inscriptions and monuments in these regions.

Kingdoms in Java and Sumatra

Besides Java, the neighbouring islands of Sumatra and Borneo were also centres of Hindu settlements. I-tsing refers to the famous

kingdom of Śrī Vijaya, which in course of time became a great political power in South East Asia. If P'o-li of the Chinese text could be identified with Bali, then this small island which has retained its Hindu character to this day was an early settlement of the Indians. Its ruler's family name was Ca-ri-ya-ka corresponding to Kṣatra or Kṣatri and the kingdom sent embassies to China from A.D. 518 to 630.

Mulavarman of Borneo

Seven inscriptions recorded on *yūpas* and found in the district of Kutei at Muara Kaman, in Borneo, record certain great gifts (*mahādānas*) and religious sacrifices of king Mūlavarman, son of Aśvavarman, and grandson of Kuṇḍuṅga. In East Borneo, a large number of images of Hindu gods have been found in the cave of Kombeng, while in West Borneo at various places inscriptions on stone and a number of inscribed gold plates have been found. A Buddha image of the Gupta style and another of the Amarāvatī style were found at Sambas and at Sempaga in the Celebes respectively. It appears that Borneo had Hindu settlements, and it is tempting to identify it with the Barhiṇa-dvīpa of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*. These kingdoms in Malaysia, Indonesia, and Indo-China formed the nucleus of the empire of the Śailendras and the Varmans of Kambuja.

Imperial Phase

Śrī Vijaya was probably the first Hindu empire in South East Asia. I-tsing spent a few years at Palembang, its capital. It was a centre of trade and Buddhist learning. A record dated in the year Śaka 606 (A.D. 684) mentions Jayanāśa or Jayanāga as the ruler of Śrī Vijaya. As a leading and powerful state, Śrī Vijaya sent several embassies to China between A.D. 670 and A.D. 741. An inscription dated in the year A.D. 775 from Ligor in the Malaya Peninsula refers to the mighty power of the Buddhist king of that place. Śrī Vijaya gained power and influence in Malaya and Indonesia and helped trade between the orient and the occident.

The Sailendra Empire

The Śailendras whose origin has been a matter of dispute also ruled in Malaya and Indonesia for nearly five hundred years. The original home of the Śailendras seems to have been in Java where the famous monuments of Barabuḍur and Caṇḍī Mendut are fitting memorials of their munificence as patrons of art. The Nālandā record dated in the year 39 or 35 of the time of king Devapāla (*c.* A.D. 850) records the grant of five villages for the maintenance of a monastery by Bālaputradeva, king of Suvarṇadvīpa. Śrī Cūḍāmaṇivarman and his son Śrī Māra Vijayottuṅgavarman, rulers of Kaḍāra or Kaṭāha (Kedda in the Malaya Peninsula) and Śrī Vijaya, maintained contacts with the Coḷas. They were associated with the construction of a Buddhist *Vihāra* at Nāgapaṭṭana (Nāgapaṭṭinam) on the east coast of India. Coḷa conquest of Kaṭāha resulted in the overthrow of the Śailendras some time before A.D. 1025. The kingdom of San-fo-tsi as called by the Chinese which took its place continued for more than three hundred years till it was destroyed by Java in the 14th century A.D.

The Hindu Kingdom of Eastern Java

Some Hindu rulers figure prominently in the history of Java. King Airlaṅgga, son-in-law of a Javanese king, was formally consecrated ruler in East Java and brought the whole of the island under his control. In his records we have reference to the peoples of Kaliṅga, Siṁhala, Drāviḍa, Karnāṭaka, Campā and Khmer who had evidently trade relations with Java. Regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, the fine figure of the deity seated in a Garuḍa from Belahan is supposed to be his actual representation. The partition of his kingdom between his two sons was the beginning of the decline of his empire. Kaḍiri, the capital of one, was conquered by the neighbouring ruler of Singhasāri named Rājasa who united the whole of Java under his authority. Kṛtanagara, well up in art and literature, extended his authority over Bali, Sunda (Western Java), Sumatra, Malaya, Borneo and Madura (another island). His egotism and absorption in religious affairs cost him his life and throne. The Mongol ruler Qublai

Khān conquered the kingdom in A.D. 1293 but the Mongols did not stay there.

Majapahit

Vijaya, the son-in-law of Kṛtanagara, founded a new kingdom with Majapahit as his capital, and was known as Kṛtarājasa Jayavardhana. During the reign of Rājasanagara, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1350, the Majapahit empire included large parts of Malaya and Indonesia. It had contacts with Thailand, Kaliṅga, Campā and Dharmanagarī, and other neighbouring places, and trade relations with Jambudvīpa (India), Cīna, Karṇāṭaka, and Gauḍa. His death in A.D. 1389 precipitated internal dissensions. Although the kingdom of Majapahit continued for another century, it was of little importance. The influx of Muslim traders, giving Islām a footing in the island, paved the way for its gradual expansion in Indonesia, ultimately enveloping it completely. Only Bali escaped and preserved its old tradition to this day.

Varman Empire in Kambuja desa

The empire of the Varmans in Kambuja lasted for nearly five centuries. Bhavavarman and his successors Mahendravarman and Īśānavarman had carved out a big kingdom, and in the 7th century A.D. it extended upto Dangrek mountains in the north, comprising Cochin-China and Cambodia. After a dark period of over a hundred years, when probably the Śailendras dominated there, Jayavarman II ascended the throne in A.D. 802 and founded a new dynasty. The kingdom ruled by him and his successor, Jayavarman III, was vast, reaching the frontiers of Yunnan in southern China. Indravarman succeeded him and founded a new royal dynasty. He boasted of his commands being obeyed by rulers of Campā, Cīna and Yavadvīpa. Yaśovarman, who ascended the throne in A.D. 889, enhanced the power, prestige and glory of his empire and his family. A distinguished man of letters, he was also a patron of art, and built many temples and his capital at Yaśodharapura. During the time of Rājendravarman (*c.* A.D.

944–68) the empire comprised the vast region to the south of China and east of Burma.

A period of internal trouble soon followed. It was only in the time of Sūryavarman II that the dissenting forces were overcome, to rise again after his death in or after A.D. 1145. The invasion by the king of Campā, and the sacking of the Kambuja capital shattered its prestige. It was, however, regained by Jayavarman VII who defeated the Chams in a naval engagement in 1190. In the prolonged struggle fortune favoured the Kambuja ruler and the whole of Campā came under his sway. This was the peak period with the Kambuja empire extending from the sea of China to the Bay of Bengal. The city of Angkor Thom was well fortified and well laid out with its enormous buildings and palaces, and the famous temple of Bayon occupying the central portion of the city is regarded as the masterpiece of Kambuja architecture. The last important ruler was Jayavarman VIII whose abdication in A.D. 1295 was followed by internal troubles ; and the aggression of the Thais which had begun in the 13th century brought about the downfall of the empire of the Hindu rulers in Indo-China, though the petty kingdom of Cambodia continues till today.

Thailand

Thailand was colonized by the Hindus in the first two centuries of the Christian era. Excavations at Pong Tuk, 32 km. from Pra Pathom, the discovery of a Sanskrit inscription of the 4th century A.D. near Pechaburi, and Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sculptures point to this part being a centre of Hindu culture. After the decline of Fu-nan, of which Thailand had been a part, the Dvāravatī kingdom rose into importance. The Hinduized Mons who dominated this kingdom extended their influence in the north as far as Haripuñjaya or Lamphun. In the 10th century A.D. the Kambuja empire extended over this region.

Cultural Impact

The Indian immigrants in South East Asia, while setting up

their kingdoms, tried to build a social structure on the orthodox Indian model with the traditional four castes (*cāturvarṇya*) and the supremacy of the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas. The distinction between Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas was more apparent than real. Inter-marriage between the two was not unknown. Agastya, a Brāhmaṇa immigrant, married a princess named Yaśo matī, and Divākara from Vṛndāvana in India took the hand of Indralakṣmī, daughter of emperor Rājendravarman. Jayavarman VIII's queen hailed from the respectable family of Brāhmaṇa Hṛṣikeśa of the Bhāradvāja group. In Campā, Rudravarman's father was a famous Brāhmaṇa, while his mother was a Kṣatriya. So also Prakāśadharma's sister married a Brahmaṇa named Satyakauśika Svāmin, and their son Bhadreśvaravarman was a Brahma-Kṣatriya. This caste is mentioned in several inscriptions in Kambuja and Campā. The *cāturvarṇya* also figures in Java and we find a reference to the emergence of caste from Brahmā. But the caste system in these regions was not as rigid as in India. The aristocracy and the common people had a sharp line of distinction, specially noticed in their dress, which was scanty in the case of ordinary people but gorgeous and ornamented for the aristocrats. Caste did not interfere in the choice of the avocation. A Kambuja record refers to the members of a Brāhmaṇa family being elephant drivers, artisans and priests. In the time of Jayavarman V, certain new castes came into existence. The same inscription refers to seven castes (*saptavarṇas*).

Dress and Ornaments

Complete Indianization was also apparent from the dress of the people as shown in sculptures. The Indian *dhotī* was very commonly used. It was mentioned by Chinese historians. A sculpture at Bayon depicts the king dressed in *dhotī* with a *hāra*—jewelled gold garland—round his neck. *The History of the Sui Dynasty* mentions that the king was dressed in purple silk clothes which were embroidered. Inscriptions and sculptures bring out the use of Indian ornaments—diadems (*mukuṭas*), *ear-pendants* (*kuṇḍalas*), bracelets (*keyūras*), and wristband (*kaṭakas*).

Family Life and Position of Women

Pastime and recreation included playing on instruments like lyre (*vīṇā*), drum (*mṛdaṅga*), kettle drum (*bherī*) and cymbal (*paṇava*). The family life and position of women were similar to those in India. An inscription from Kambuja refers to performance of *pitṛtarpaṇa* by the son with water. Joint family was usually in vouge. Some of the rulers traced descent on the mother s side. The food habit of the people was the same ; *taṇḍula* (rice) was the staple food with pulses like *tila* and *mudga*. Likewise *ghṛta*, *dadhi* and *guḍa* (ghee, curd and molasses) are mentioned in inscriptions.

The contribution of Indians to the economy of the country was no less, as is evident from references to different avocations and the use of coins and weights of several denominations.

Education

Indian influence extended to the field of education and literature as well. We find the progressive use of Indian literature, both Sanskrit and Pāli. Prākṛt was not unknown, since we have a reference to Guṇaḍhya. The Indian script was retained. There are also references to talented ladies, implying that education was not denied to the fair sex. It was diffused through centres, popularly called *Āśramas*. Śrī Vijaya was a big centre of learning for Buddhism and Buddhist scholars. Besides the four Vedas, including the *Atharva*, and the *Sāma*, grammar was studied according to different traditions. Pāṇinī's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is mentioned in several records, while king Yaśovarman had composed a commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. The Purāṇas were well known. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* were also studied. People were familiar with the works of Kālidāsa, especially *Raghuvaṁśa*. The names of Bhāravi, Vasubandhu and Guṇāḍhya also figure in Kambuja records.

Literature

Indian literature was keenly studied in Campā. King Bhadra-

varman was well versed in the four Vedas, while king Indravarman III was proficient in the six systems of Hindu philosophy as well as Buddhist philosophy. King Jaya-Indravarmadeva VII was well versed in grammar, astrology and the Mahāyāna system of philosophy. According to a Chinese chronicle, after the Chinese General Lieu Fang had sacked the city of Campā, he carried with him 1,350 Buddhist manuscripts. This event took place in A.D. 605. Java drank deep at the fountain of Indian literature, and under the patronage of its benign rulers, produced a vast literature, varied in contents. Besides the translations of the two Epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, Java produced the *Kṛṣṇāyana* by Triguṇa, dealing with the abduction of Rukminī by Kṛṣṇa, *Bhārata-yuddha* written by Mpu Seḍah and *Harivaṁśa* both based on the *Mahābhārata*, during the reign of Jayabhaya—and several works belonging to the Purāṇa class of which special mention may be made of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*. The Aja-Indumatī episode in the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the *Madana-dahana* episode in the *Kumārasambhava* find their echoes respectively in the *Sumanasāntaka* and the *Smaradahana*. There are also works on *Nīti* and *Dharma Śāstra*, religion and philosophy. Among secular works may be mentioned those on history, linguistics, medicine and erotics. All this was the outcome of an academic discipline, based on the ancient Indian system of education and the patronage extended by the highly gifted and enlightened rulers.

Religion and Art

The greatest impact was in the field of religion and art, the former supplying themes to the artist who tried to conform to the canons of the *Śilpaśāstra*. The religious systems of India—both Hinduism and Buddhism—became deeply rooted in South East Asia. The popular faiths and religious practices in India found an exact replica in those regions. Vedic sacrifices with the setting up of the *yūpas* were known in Borneo about the 4th century A.D. The Purāṇic gods and goddesses and stories connected with them were widely current. Although Śaivism was more prominent, Viṣṇu with his incarnations also found numerous

patrons and votaries from among the ruling monarchs. Śiva with his destructive and renovating powers—and his two *Śaktis*, Mahākālī and Pārvatī, along with his *liṅga* form—is very much in evidence. The images of Gaṇeśa and the war god Kārttikeya are also found. Viṣṇu represented with four arms, his *Śakti*, Lakṣmī, as well as his incarnations, especially Matsya, Varāha, Narasiṁha, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are all represented. Brahmā also figures as the third member of the trinity. The famous Belahan image of Viṣṇu is supposed to be one of the best specimens of sculpture in Java. In Campā, Śiva occupied the most important position and an image of him in the form of a *liṅga* was regarded as the national deity throughout the course of its history. Other deities also were associated with Śiva, like Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya, and even his bull *Nandī*. Viṣṇu was known by various names, and so also his incarnations. Some of the kings after death, were associated with a divinity. There were several other Brahmanical gods, like Sūrya and Kubera, who also figured in religious life and art in Campā.

In Kambuja the worship of Śiva was associated with the cult of Devarāja which comprised the setting up of *liṅga* on a raised pyramid symbolizing the essence of royalty, the deification of royalty and ancestor worship. Tāntricism was closely connected with this cult. The Indian Brāhmaṇa Hiraṇyadāma particularly taught certain Tāntric texts to Śivakaivalya. Pure Śaivism is evident from the reference to the setting up of Śaiva statues. The *liṅga* form of Śiva worship is also noticed both in inscriptions and in art. The composite deities—Hari-Hara and Trimūrti are also noticed. As the supreme deity, Śiva presides over the famous temple of Bayon. Viṣṇu is also invoked in a number of records under different names and forms. The story of Kṛṣṇa is depicted in sculptures. There are references to various other Brahmanical divinities suggesting that the Purāṇic form of worship was very popular. Vedic sacrifices continued to be performed. Śivācārya was the official priest of four successive kings. Sūryavarman performed *Lakṣahoma* and *Koṭihoma* sacrifices and gave liberal fees to the Brāhmaṇa priests.

Buddhism

Buddhism flourished side by side in South East Asia not as an antagonistic religion but as a supplementary one. Buddha and Śiva are associated together, and the former even finds a place in the Brahmanical Trinity consisting of Padmodbhava (Brahmā), Ambhojanetra (Viṣṇu) and the Buddha. The assimilation of Buddha in the Brahmanical Trinity is an important feature. Buddhism acquired great favour both in Campā and Java. Dong Duong in Campā appears to have been a stronghold of Buddhists as evidenced by several images of the Buddha, and remnants of a Buddhist temple were found there. In Java the famous *stūpa* at Barabuḍur is a living monument, symbolizing the flourishing state of Buddhism in that island. In all these places the religion of the Tathāgata was not an antagonistic force set up against Brahmanism, but was something friendly or even identical. A Śiva-Buddha cult existed in Java, and Śiva, Viṣṇu, and the Buddha were all regarded as identical. The international character of Buddhism is apparent from contacts between Suvarṇadvīpa and India on the one hand, and other Buddhist countries on the other. We have references to Atīśa Dīpaṅkara of Vikramaśīla and Dharmapāla of Kāñcī as visitors to Suvarṇadvīpa.

Temples

Art, as the handmaid of religion, constitutes the greatest living memorial of Indian culture and civilization in South East Asia. Whether it be the temples of Myson or Po-Nagar in Campā, or those of Angkor Vat and Bayon in Cambodia, or the Barabuḍur and the Caṇḍīs of Java, they were all inspired by one ideal—the setting up of a fitting monument symbolizing the people's religious devotion. The earlier phase in temple construction is completely Indian, either of the North Indian *śikhara* type or of the South Indian Drāviḍa style, but native genius with a desire for lofty and sky-scraping structures triumphs over the earlier impulse. A colossal character to the whole structure is also given by the grouping of numerous temples in one enclosure. The sculptures and narrative reliefs bear a stamp of their own, whether they are the *Rāmāyaṇa*

reliefs at Panataran or the Kṛṣṇa legend at Angkor Vat. In Cambodia one also notices the cruciform plan of the individual towers, like the one in the Kandariya Mahādeva temple at Khajuraho, and also the conception of grouping a number of cellas on a single terrace as in the famous Orissan temples at Bhubaneśvar. The artists exhibited mastery of technique with a high aesthetic conception. With the decay of Indian influence, and the final collapse of the Hindu states, art received a death below.

North-western Phase

Indian cultural influence extended to West and Central Asia as well. There was no attempt at political expansion in the west, but the assimilation of all the foreigners who came to India Greeks, Parthians, Śakas, Kuṣāṇas and Hūṇas - in the socio-religious structure of India was the triumph of Indian culture. This extended even further. Chinese Turkestān, called by Sir Aurel Stein as 'the innermost heart of Asia', and forming a vast basin was at one time a prosperous country of flourishing cities with their rich sanctuaries and monasteries. The remains in Turkestān and the finds at different sites explored or excavated by archaeologists have established beyond doubt that a large number of Indians had migrated from the Punjab and Kashmīr and settled in the Tarim basin where they built numerous cities. Indian life and thought were so firmly planted that when Stein was exploring that region he felt as if he was in some Punjab village, although he was nearly 3,220 km. away from the land of the five rivers.

Indian Kingdom in Khotan

There was an Indian kingdom in Khotān alleged to have been founded by a son of emperor Aśoka. The names of the early kings all begin with Vijetā. Buddhism was introduced in that kingdom more than a century after its establishment. Vairocana from Kashmīr had gone there for that purpose. Later, many Buddhist monasteries were set up in the region; two famous ones, Gośṛṅga and Gomatī *vihāras*, were great centres of learning.

Many other Indian monks visited Khotān and many Buddhist monasteries flourished there.

Both Prākṛt and Sanskrit were studied in Khotān. The whole of Central Asia was a meeting place of different cultures since it contained the famous silk trade route between China and Rome. The northern route touched Kucha (Kuchi), Qara Shahı (ancient Agnideśa) and Turfan, while the southern route passed through Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotān, Niya, Miran and other important centres. The two routes finally converged at Tun-huang on the western border of China, a strong Buddhist centre noted for its famous grottos. Buddhism flourished in all these regions but traces of Brahmanical religion are also found in Khotān and other places.

Besides religion, Indian influence can also be traced in art and architecture. According to Pelliot, some Indian artists from Khotān had migrated to China. Various remnants of frescos leave no doubt that not only the whole iconography but the technique of drawing, conventions and mannerism were derived from the Buddhist paintings in India. The fragments from Dandan Uliq show Indian influence—the conception, technique and details being all Indian. Even in the last phase, there is nothing which is not a reproduction of Indian models. Stucco figures were modelled on the existing ones at Gandhāra. The Indian influence is even more distinctly confirmed by the finds from Khotān, Tumshuq and Schorshuq.

Political and cultural ties between India and Central Asia continued till about the 8th century A.D. The gradual advance of Islām and the suspension of the silk trade on account of insecure conditions resulted in the breaking of political and cultural ties between India and the 'innermost heart of Asia'

India and Afghanistan

India's relations with Afghānistān have been closer in the political and cultural spheres. The political boundaries between India and Afghānistān did not exist under the Mauryas, Indo-Greeks, Kuṣāṇas and Mughals. The long period of political associations no doubt resulted in closer cultural contacts. Syste-

matic explorations and excavations at Bāmiyān, Begram, Hadda, Surkh Kotal and other places have brought to light traces of Buddhist settlements. The Gandhāra school of art which flourished both in India and Afghānistān is well represented in sculptures, stucco and clay, as well as in mural paintings from the 3rd to the 8th century A.D. The modern village of Hadda (ancient Nagarahāra) is the site of 531 *stūpas* together with some three thousand statues. It was one of the most important Buddhist establishments in Afghānistān. According to Fa-Hien, one thousand *stūpas* were erected to the memory of Arhats and Pratyeka-Buddhas. Bāmiyān is noted for its colossal Buddha statues and innumerable cave shrines and monasteries. Brahmanism also flourished in Afghānistān as is evident from the find of a unique Sūrya image in Begram (ancient Kapiśā). Indian influence in the field of religion and art continued till the end of the 10th century A.D., when Afghānistān became an Islāmic state.

India and Iran

Indian cultural influence in Īrān is not as prominent as in other spheres. The relations between the two countries can, however, be traced back to about the 3rd millennium B.C., with close similarity in the field of religion and mythology. After the fall of the Achaemenian empire, the master craftsmen seem to have found shelter in the Mauryan capital. It is quite likely that the Indian and Īrānian artists were tackling similar problems under the same circumstances and with the same material at their disposal. These resemblances are therefore, symbolic of 'link from man to man, mind to mind, giving a proper coherence to the variegated history of civilization.'

Indian religion and philosophy, however, made a deep impression on the Īrānians. The doctrine propounded by Mani, who flourished in Īrān in the 3rd century A.D., bears the influence of Buddhism, and a Manichaen treatise refers to him as Tathāgata i.e., Buddha. There is also a marked resemblance between their views on asceticism. In the medieval period the Caliphs encouraged the translation into Persian of Indian treaties on medicine and

astronomy. The Hindu system of numerals was borrowed from India by the Arabs and they spread it all over the world.

During the long course of history, India's attitude towards political and cultural expansion has never been imperialistic. Armies were never sent to conquer any region. The conquest was mainly intellectual, and incidentally the superior culture triumphed over the native one. Individual men or groups set up kingdoms which in course of time shaped into empires. The contact with the motherland was maintained but India never exploited the colonies for her own benefit. The kingdoms were, however, repositories of Indian culture—replicas of the ones in India. In South East Asia, these kingdoms and Indian culture flourished for nearly fifteen hundred years; in the land beyond the Himālayas their existence was of shorter duration. The spade of the archaeologist has uncovered this phase of Indian history. The degree and extent of colonial enterprise was never uniform, and sooner or later the Indians in their new homes found themselves merged in the local population. The archaeological remains and famous existing monuments bear eloquent testimony to the ancient panorama of 'Greater India'.

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